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Charles Edward Jenningsham

Handwritten text at the top of the page, possibly a title or header, written in a cursive script.

*M^r. Edward Jennings
With the Author's Respects.*

THE

LIFE OF FENELON,

ARCHBISHOP OF CAMBRAY;

THE THIRD EDITION.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

THE

LIVES OF ST. VINCENT OF PAUL,

AND

HENRI-MARIE DE BOUDON:

A

LETTER

ON ANTIENT AND MODERN MUSIC:

AND

HISTORICAL MINUTES

OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

By CHARLES BUTLER, Esq.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

1819.

Quare quis tandem me reprehendat, si quantum cæteris ad festos dies
ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam sequiem
animi et corporis conceditur temporis: quantum alii tempestivis conviviiis,
quantum aleæ, quantum pilæ, tantum mihi egomet, ad hæc studia reco-
lenda, sumpsero.

CIC. PRO. ARCHIA.

Le changement d'étude est toujours un délassement pour moi.

D'AGUESSEAU.



Luke Hansard & Sons, near Lincoln's-Inn Fields, London.

TO
THOMAS STONOR, ESQ.

OF STONOR PARK,
IN THE COUNTY OF OXFORD;

THIS COMPILATION

IS INSCRIBED;

WITH THE HIGHEST SENTIMENTS OF ESTEEM

AND GRATITUDE,

BY

HIS MOST OBLIGED, AND MOST HUMBLE SERVANT,

CHARLES BUTLER.

Lincoln's Inn, }
15 August 1819. }

THE LIFE OF FENELON.

CHAP. I.

PRINCIPAL WRITERS OF THE LIFE OF FENELON.

WITH the name of Fenelon, the most pleasing ideas are associated. To singular elevation, both of genius and sentiment, he united extreme modesty and simplicity; unconquerably firm in every thing which he considered a duty, he displayed, both on great and ordinary occasions, a meekness, which nothing could discompose. In the midst of a voluptuous court, he practised the virtues of an anchorite; equally humble and elegant, severe to himself and indulgent to others, a mysterious holiness hangs on his character and attracts our veneration, while his misfortunes shed over him a tinge of distress, which excites our tenderest sympathy.

Not long after his decease, a short account of his life was published by the chevalier Ramsay, who had been the preceptor of prince Charles, the grandson of our James the second. The chevalier passed several years in the strictest intimacy with Fenelon, and, after Fenelon's decease, was entrusted by his family, with his papers. In 1734, a great nephew of Fenelon published memoirs of him, which are short, but contain some curious details. A third account of the life of Fenelon was published in

1787, by father Querbeuf, an ex-jesuit. A life of Fenelon has been published in four volumes octavo, by the cardinal de Baussét, bishop of Alais at the beginning of the French revolution, and afterwards member of the imperial chapter of the church of St. Denis at Paris. He seems to have had access to all the papers in the possession of the family of Fenelon, which could be of use to him, in the composition of his work. From the work of his eminence, the following account of the life of Fenelon is principally extracted.

CHAP. II.

FAMILY OF FENELON.

THE village of Salignac, from which the family of Fenelon took its title, lies at the distance of about two leagues from Sarlât: in 1460, it was raised to a barony. On the decease of Anthony de Salignac, governor of Peregord and Limousin under John d'Albrêt, king of Navarre, it descended to his eldest son, and, on the decease of that son without issue male, it descended to his daughter and heiress. She married into the house of Birlo, and on her marriage it was stipulated that the descendants of it should use the surname and arms of Salignac, with their family surname and arms. The surname of Salignac was also used by the younger son of Anthony de Salignac. From him, Fenelon, the subject of these pages, lineally descended. Bernard, his great grandfather, was sent ambassador by the court of France to queen Elizabeth; and history mentions to his honour, that, when he was desired by his court to justify to her the massacre at Paris on St. Bartholomew's day, he refused the unwarrantable commission.

Francis de Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon, whose life is now presented to the reader, was a son, by a second marriage, of Pons de Salignac, count of La Mothe Fenelon. The marquis de Fenelon, his uncle, took on himself the charge of his education. The marquis's character appears to have been truly respectable. The grand Condé used to say of him, that "he was equally qualified for conversation, for the field, and for the cabinet." An idea may be formed of the openness of his disposition, and the austerity of his principles, by what he said to M. de Harlai, on his nomination to the archbishoprick of Paris;—"there is a wide difference, my right reverend lord, between the day, when the nomination to such an office brings to the party the compliments of the whole kingdom, and the day, on which he appears before God, to render him an account of its administration." M. Olier, the founder of the congregation of St. Sulpice, engaged the marquis in an extraordinary project. The law of duelling, was once, in France, as it was once in most other kingdoms of Europe, a part of the civil jurisprudence of the country. In 1547, a duel was fought by the count Guy Chabot and the count of Chateauguai, in the presence of Henry the second and his court. The count of Chateauguai was mortally wounded; his death affected the monarch so much, that he solemnly vowed not to permit another duel. Cardinal Richelieu repressed duelling by some extraordinary examples of severity; after his death, it burst out with great fury. M. Olier conceived a plan of supplying the insufficiency of the law, by putting honour in opposition to itself. With this view, he formed an association of gentlemen of tried valour, who, by a writing signed with their hands, to which the solemnity of an oath was to be added, were to oblige themselves never to give or accept a challenge, and never to serve as seconds in a duel.

The marquis of Fenelon was placed at the head of the association ; and no one was admitted into it, who had not eminently distinguished himself in the service. On the Sunday of Pentecost, in the year 1651, in the midst of an immense concourse, they assembled in the church of St. Sulpice, and put into the hands of M. Olier, a solemn instrument, expressing their firm and unalterable resolution, never to be principals or seconds in a duel, and to discourage duelling to the utmost of their power. The grand Condé was struck with the proceeding ; " A person," he said to the marquis of Fenelon, " must have the opinion which I have of your valour, not to be alarmed at seeing you the first to break the ice on such an occasion."

Lewis the fourteenth seconded the views of the respectable pastor : he took a solemn oath not to pardon a duel ; and, in the course of his reign, published several severe laws against duelling. By the last of them he established a court, composed of the mareschalls of France, to hear and determine all cases of honour : they were invested with ample powers ; and the severest penalties were inflicted on those, who should give or accept a challenge, or otherwise disobey their decrees. Still duelling continued ; and the ordinance was eluded, by the distinction between duel and rencontre : the latter was supposed to be unpremeditated, and was therefore held not to fall within the laws against duelling, which was supposed to be premeditated. To prevent this evasion, Lewis the fifteenth published his ordinance of 1723, which, after confirming the laws of his predecessors against duels, provided, that though the rencontre were quite sudden and unpremeditated, the aggressor should be punished with death : but this ordinance had little effect. At length, good sense came to the aid of law ; so that towards the end of that monarch's reign,

a duel was no longer essential to a character for personal honour and bravery.

The law of duel once also made a part of the English jurisprudence. In 1651, a duel was awarded by the court of chivalry between Donald Lord Rea, and Mr. David Ramsay, and all the preliminaries of place, time, and weapons were adjusted by his majesty's letters patent; but, a few days before the combat was to have taken place, his majesty, by a letter, addressed to the lord constable and lord mareschall, revoked his letters patent, and enjoined the parties not to proceed to combat.

Duelling was never so common in England as on the continent. It was a common observation of foreigners, that many circumstances and expressions pass as matters of course in England, which would be considered heinous offences among them. They attribute it to the roughness of our political discussions in the house of commons, which influence, more than we ourselves are aware of, our manners in private life. The only instance, which occurs in the jurisprudence of England, of a person condemned capitally for a duel, is the case of major Oneby, reported by sir John Strange*, and that case was attended with circumstances of particular aggravation. The major prevented his execution by laying violent hands on himself, in the night which was to precede it.

* (In his Reports, p. 766.)

CHAP. III.

THE YOUTH OF FENELON.—STATE OF THE FRENCH CHURCH AT THIS PERIOD.

A. D. 1651: ÆT. 1.

FRANCIS de Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, was born in the castle of Fenelon, in Périgord, on the sixth day of August, 1651. M. de Baussét informs us, that the early years of Fenelon were distinguished by many traits, both of courage and moderation, which were surprising in a child, and which we should read with pleasure, even in the life of a person less eminent. We wish he had communicated some of these to his readers, as every trait, indicating a future Fenelon, must be interesting. The same author informs us that Fenelon acquired, at a very early age, that charm of style, which so particularly marks his writings. As soon as his years permitted, he embraced the ecclesiastical state. At this important part of the life of Fenelon, M. de Baussét stops to give a general view of the church of France at that period: we shall select from it the most striking parts of his account of the great rival bodies, the jesuits and jansenists.

“The institute of the jesuits,” says M. de Baussét, “to which no other institution ever was or ever could be compared, for the energy, foresight, and depth of design, with which it was planned and conducted, was calculated to embrace in its vast functions, all the orders and classes of society, and all the elements, that make a part of its civil or religious powers. Versed in every species of knowledge, its members derived from it, that consideration, which superior talents and knowledge

seldom fail to confer. The confidence, which roman catholic governments placed in the jesuits, and the success of their general scheme of education, threw the instruction of youth almost exclusively into their hands. The severity of their manners, their temperance, their personal decency and disinterestedness, did them honour as religious men and citizens. These were never contested by their enemies; and they were a complete refutation of the charges of loose morality, so often imputed to them. The organization of the body was so perfect, that it neither had youth nor age. Immediately on its appearance, it formed establishments in every catholic state, attacked the descendants of Luther in all their subdivisions, and founded missions in the east, in the wilds of America, in the Indies, in China, and in Japan. At the end of two centuries, the order was in full vigour of maturity."

"By what spirit of frenzy," exclaims M. de Baussét, "did it happen, that the roman catholic governments, whom they served so well, deprived themselves of such useful defenders? The silly and laughable charges against the jesuits, which were made a pretence for their dissolution, are now scarcely remembered: but it is recollected, that their accusers dealt in general charges; and that, while the heaviest accusations were brought against the whole body, nothing was proved against individuals. In every part of catholic Europe, public instruction ceased on the banishment of the jesuits; this is equally acknowledged by their enemies and their friends."

Such is M. de Baussét's account of the jesuits, and such, to this hour, is the general language of roman catholics in their regard.

He then presents his readers with a view of the jansenists, confining it chiefly to those, who, from their residence in the convent of Port-royal or its neighbour-

hood, or from connections with them, obtained the appellation of Port-royalists.—In every æra of the christian religion, the learned and the idle have attempted to sound the abyss of grace and predestination, and consumed their time in vain efforts to reconcile, with the infinite wisdom and goodness of the deity, the moral and natural evils which he foresees, and decrees, or permits. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Michael Baius, the parent of jansenism, a theologian of Louvain, was engaged in these abstruse speculations, and published a treatise on grace, which was condemned at Rome, and retracted by its author. He was supposed to allow too much to grace, and too little to free will. Molina, a spanish jesuit, entered the lists against him, and was accused of the opposite error. The cause was carried to Rome; a congregation of cardinals was appointed to hear it: in the space of ten years, it was argued before them two hundred times; it will surprise, or rather, will not surprise the reader, to be informed, that, after its two hundredth sitting, the congregation broke up without coming to a resolution on any of the points submitted to them.

Undismayed by its want of success, Jansenius, bishop of Ipres, after twenty-two years study, composed a large volume on the subject, in which, if he did not adopt the system of Baius, he adopted a system directly opposite to that of Molina. The jesuits and their adherents attacked his work: five propositions were extracted from it, not as existing in it literally, but as containing the essence or ultimate tendency of its doctrines. They were formally condemned by the Pope, and the universal church acquiesced in their condemnation. But the advocates of Jansenius rallied: they admitted that the propositions were erroneous, but denied that any of them were contained in the writings of Jansenius, or

were fairly inferrible from his principles. This most important point, whether an ill-written book, of an obscure flemish prelate, contained five propositions on an unintelligible subject, was the origin of a dispute, which continued for two centuries, and, at different times, convulsed both the church and state of France to their centres. At the time, of which we are speaking, the partisans of Jansenius were numerous, active, and able.

Among them, the family of Arnaud held a distinguished rank. One of that family was abbess of Port-royal, a convent in a solitary uncultivated tract of land in the neighbourhood of Paris; and several of her relations were members of the community. The celebrated Anthony d'Arnaud, the two Le Mâitres, and Le Saçy retired to the same spot, and were followed by several persons of rank and talent. They spent their whole time in prayer and study; and their writings are amongst the ablest compositions in the french language. Their enemies admitted that they carried it to its perfection, and fixed its standard. The reign of Lewis the fourteenth, so famous for its literary glory, produced no greater writers than those, who inhabited the solitude of Port-royal. Unfortunately for religion, literature, and science, too much of their time was consumed in advocating the cause of jansenism.

M. de Baussét then proceeds to give an account of the Sulpiciens, a community of secular priests, far inferior in renown to the jesuits or jansenists, but not without considerable celebrity in their day. The account, which he gives of them, is most edifying. Avoiding public notice, engaging in no contest, resigning to others those good works, which confer celebrity, it was their object to be actively employed in the service of the church in her most obscure and humble functions; and within that modest, but useful line of duty, their exertions were uni-

formly confined. They had numerous establishments in France, and had existed one hundred and fifty years without the slightest abatement of their first fervour, when, at the beginning of the french revolution, they perished in the general wreck of what was most respectable or holy in France. M. de Baussét mentions, as a circumstance greatly to their honour, that during the whole term of their existence, their concerns never once became the subject of a suit at law. To the jesuits, Fenelon was always greatly attached: from the jansenists he always kept at a great distance; nothing could be more contrary to his disposition, than their gloomy devotion and immoderate severity. His spiritual director, M. Tronson, was superiour of St. Sulpice. This circumstance attached Fenelon to the sulpiciens, and his attachment to them continued through his life.

CHAP. IV.

FENELON IS ORDAINED PRIEST.

A. D. 1676. *Æt.* 25.

IN the seminary of St. Sulpice, Fenelon was ordained priest: he passed the three following years in absolute retirement; after which, by the desire of the curate of the parish of St. Sulpice, he delivered, on Sundays and festivals, in the church of the parish, a course of familiar explanations of the old and new testament: these first made him known to the public. It appears that, in the fervour of his zeal, he once intended to transport himself to Canada, and devote his life to the conversion of the savages; and that afterwards, on finding his constitution would not endure the cold of that climate, he

changed his resolution, and determined to dedicate himself to the missions of the east. M. de Baussét favours us with a letter written by him, under this impression, which shows a mind saturated with religious and classical enthusiasm.

“ Several trifling accidents have delayed, till this moment, my return to Paris ; but now at last, I set off, and I almost fly. With this voyage in my thoughts, I have a greater voyage in contemplation. All Greece opens herself to me ; the sultan retires in a fright ; the Peloponnesus already begins to breathe in freedom. Again, will the church of Corinth flourish ; again, will she hear the voice of her apostle. I feel myself transported into these delightful regions ; and, while I am collecting the precious monuments of antiquity, I seem to inhale her true spirit. I search for the Areiopagus, where St. Paul preached the unknown God to the wise of the world. But, after the sacred, the profane comes for her turn, and I do not disdain to enter the Pyréum, where Socrates unfolded the plan of his republic. I ascend the double summit of Parnassus ; I pluck the laurels of Delphos, I breathe the sweets of Tempe.

“ When shall the blood of the Turks lie mingled with the blood of the Persians, on the plains of Marathon, and leave Greece to religion, to philosophy, and to the fine arts, which regard her as their natural soil ?

“ *Arva beata!*

“ *Petamus Arva, divites et insulæ!*

“ O island ! consecrated by the heavenly visions of the beloved disciple ; never shall I forget thee ! On your soil, I will kiss the footsteps of the evangelist, and fancy I behold the heavens open. Then, shall I be seized with indignation against the false prophet, who attempted to unfold the oracles of the true prophet ;

and return thanks to God, who did not destroy his church, as he destroyed Babylon; but chained up the dragon and crowned his church with victory. The schism disappears;—the east and west are re-united;—and Asia; after a long night, sees the day return to her. The land consecrated by the cross of Christ, and watered by his blood, is delivered from those, who profaned her, and is invested with new glories.—Finally, the children of Abraham, scattered over the earth, and more numerous than the stars of the heavens, are collected from the four winds, and come in crowds to adore the Christ, whose side they pierced on the cross.

“ This is sufficient: you will rejoice to hear this is the last of my letters; and the last of my enthusiastick flights, with which you will be importuned.

“FR. DE FENELON.”

While Fenelon lived in this happy state, he contracted an intimate friendship with two persons whose names, like his own, will reach the latest posterity, Bossuet and the Abbé Fleury. To the former, who was greatly his superior in years, and was then in the zenith of his great reputation, he particularly attached himself. Bossuet, denying himself to all others, used to permit Fenelon and Fleury to accompany him to Germigny, the country residence of the bishops of Meaux. They had stated hours of prayer, private study, and relaxation; and, in these last, under the humble name of conversation, the bishop unfolded to them all his sacred and literary stores of knowledge. Nothing could exceed the bishop's regard for Fenelon, or Fenelon's veneration for the bishop. Who does not lament that the union of such men was ever dissolved?

CHAP. V.

FENELON IS EMPLOYED ON THE MISSIONS AMONG
THE NEW CONVERTED PROTESTANTS.

A. D. 1685. ÆT. 34.

IT appears that Fenelon first attracted the favour of Lewis the fourteenth by his great success in the religious missions, which, on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, were undertaken, by the direction of that monarch, for proselytising the hugonots to the catholic religion, and confirming the faith of the new converts.

By the edict of Nantes, Henry the fourth granted to the hugonots, the free exercise of their religion, and placed them nearly on an equality of civil rights with his other subjects. Their pastors were salarised at the expence of the state; their churches were allowed to choose deputies, who were to hold assemblies for regulating their internal concerns; and they were permitted to retain some fortified towns, and garrison them with troops of their own persuasion, as a security for the observance of the edict. With some jealousy on the side of the catholics, and some discontent on the side of the hugonots, the edict was observed, during the reign of Henry the fourth, without either party's having any just cause of complaint. The edict was confirmed by his successor, immediately after his accession to the throne; but the hugonots were discountenanced, and had a very small share of the favours of government or the smiles of the court. This naturally increased their discontent, and their discontent was fomented by the different parties, who contended for the favour of the court, and who regularly patronized the hugonots, while they were in opposition, and regularly neglected them, while they were in administration. At

length, the hugonots broke out into open war; they were supported by the english, but the war was soon terminated by the taking of the city of La Rochelle. The hugonots were then obliged to deliver up their forfeited towns: in other respects, the edict remained in force; and it was confirmed to them by Lewis the fourteenth, on his accession to the throne.

But the extinction of the hugonot religion, in every part of his dominions, was one of that monarch's most favourite projects, and, through the whole of his reign, pursued by him with undeviating attention. By his direction, all means of favour and exclusion were put in practice to make proselytes: the ministers of the hugonots were laid under many restraints, in the exercise of their functions; their consistories and synods were seldom allowed to meet; their schools of theology and philosophy were broken up, and seven hundred of their churches were taken from them or demolished:—finally, by an edict of the 23d of October 1685, Lewis the fourteenth absolutely revoked the edict of Nantes: and, by a second edict of the same day, interdicted wholly to the hugonots, the exercise of their religion, ordered the ministers to quit the kingdom, employed priests to educate the children of the hugonots in the catholic religion, and commanded all the intendants of provinces and governors of towns to cause the edict to be rigidly enforced. Some of them exceeded their instructions, and, under the pretence of preserving the priests from insult, and compelling the attendance of the children at mass and public instruction, distributed soldiers in the principal places inhabited by hugonots, and connived at their outrages. The soldiers were principally taken out of the dragoon companies; which gave their employment the appellation of the Dragonade. To subvert themselves from this persecution, great numbers of families quitted

France, and, dispersing themselves in the protestant states, enriched them with their arts and industry, and made them resound with their execrations of their tyrannical persecutor. It is greatly to the honour both of Fenelon and of Bossuet, that they blamed the use of compulsion in effecting the religious conversion of the hugonots*.

"Violence and persecution," says M. de Bausset, "were so contrary to the character and principles of Fenelon, that he condemned, without hesitation, the rigour which some agents of persons in power employed against the peaceable and submissive hugonots. He equally condemned the blind zeal, with which some endeavoured to force acts of conformity from those, who were not sincerely convinced, but only intimidated and terrified. He knew that this species of conformity must necessarily be rather an act of hypocrisy, than a real act of religion."

In a letter to the duke of Beauvilliers, Fenelon mentions, that he was informed by public report, that the council on the affairs of the hugonots, to which the duke belonged, was determined on rigorous measures. "That," says Fenelon, "is not the true spirit of the gospel. The work of God is not effected, in the heart, by force." The mareschall of Noailles consulted Fenelon on the line of conduct he should pursue, in respect to the hugonot soldiers under his command. In his answer, Fenelon says, "That tormenting and teasing heretic soldiers into conversion will answer no end; it will not succeed;

* The revocation of the edict of Nantes is unjustifiable: it was not only an atrocious act of religious persecution, but an infamous violation of public faith. It should, however, be added, that in the accounts, generally given, of this measure and its effects, there has been great exaggeration. See the writer's *Historical Memoirs of the Church of France*, Ch. V.

it will only produce hypocrites; the converts made by them will desert in crowds. If an officer, or any other person can insinuate the truth into their hearts, or excite in them a desire of instruction, it is well; but there should be no constraint, no indirect officiousness. When they are ill, a catholic officer may visit them, procure them assistance, and drop on them a few salutary words. If that produce no good, and the sickness continue, one may go a little further, but softly, and without constraint. One may hint, that the ancient is the best church, and derived to us immediately from the apostles. If the sick person be unable to enter into this, you should be satisfied with leading him to make some acts of sorrow for his sins, and some acts of faith and charity, adding words like these: O my God! I submit to whatever the true church teaches. In whatever place she resides, I acknowledge her for my mother."

The chevalier Ramsay relates, that Fenelon recommended to prince Charles, the grandson of our James the second, never to use compulsion in matters of religion. "No human power," he said, "can force the impenetrable intrenchments of the freedom of the mind. Compulsion never persuades, it only makes hypocrites. When kings interfere in matters of religion, they don't protect, they enslave it. Give civil liberty to all, not by approving all religions, as indifferent, but by permitting in patience what God permits, and by endeavouring to bring persons to what is right by mildness and persuasion."

The counsel, which Fenelon gave to others, he was himself the first to practise. The province of Poitou was appointed for the scene of his mission. When he was presented to Lewis the fourteenth, the only request, which he made to the monarch, was, that the troops, and every species of military parade, might be

removed to a great distance from the province.—We have mentioned that the sentiments of Bossuet on this subject agreed with those of Fenelon ; and we add with pleasure, that both the chancellor D'Aguesseau, and the chancellor's father, the intendant of Languedoc, concurred with them in the same opinion. The latter resigned his office of intendant, rather than witness the dragonade.

CHAP. VI.

FENELON PUBLISHES HIS TREATISES ON THE MISSION OF THE CLERGY, AND FEMALE EDUCATION.

A. D. 1607. ÆT. 36.

THE object of the first of these treatises, is to prove, that the great majority of mankind, being of themselves wholly incapable of forming a just judgment on the several articles of the christian faith, divine wisdom could afford them no surer guide to lead them to truth, than a visible authority, deriving its origin from the apostles, and from Jesus Christ himself, and continued through an uninterrupted succession of pastors, to the end of time.—Of all the points in dispute between roman catholics and protestants, this, perhaps, is the most important. At the celebrated conference between Bossuet and Claude, on the subject of the church, it seems, to have been agreed by them, that every point, on which the two churches were divided, would be settled by a decision of this question. Bossuet and Fenelon contended that the roman-catholics alone can show an uninterrupted succession of pastors, consecrated by a form which may be traced to the apostles, while the reformed churches cannot trace their ancestry beyond the six-

teenth century. This circumstance of itself is said by them to decide the question in favour of the roman-catholic church. The system and the arguments of both are the same; but Bossuet writes for the learned and informed; Fenelon, for the simple and uninformed.

His treatise on female education endeared him to every mother and every daughter in France. He observes in it, that the education of a daughter should begin with her birth, as it is impossible to attend too soon to her physical or mental faculties; that in her earliest years, instruction should be conveyed to her, chiefly in narrative, which is indirect instruction; but that, even in her very earliest years, her instruction should be solid; so that nothing should be allowed a place in her faith or exercises of devotion, which is not drawn from the gospel, or which the church does not sanction. She should be accustomed to reject idle histories, and kept from devotions, indiscreetly introduced, and not authorized by the church. The Historical Catechism of Fleury, he mentions, in his treatise, three times, with great commendation. Of the female character he expresses himself, as does every intellectual man, in terms of the highest praise; "Women," he justly says, "were designed, by their native elegance and gentleness, to endear domestic life to man; to make virtue lovely to children, to spread round them order and grace, and give society its highest polish. No attainment can be above beings, whose end and aim it is, to accomplish purposes at once so elegant, and so salutary: every means should be used to invigorate by principle and culture, such native excellence and grace."

CHAP. VII.

FENELON IS APPOINTED PRECEPTOR TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, THE DUKE OF ANJOU, AND THE DUKE OF BERRI, THE GRANDSONS OF LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH.

A. D. 1609. ÆT. 38.

FENELON'S success in his missions in Poitou completely satisfied the expectations he had raised. Soon after his return from them, he was appointed preceptor to the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Anjou, and the duke of Berri, the three sons of the dauphin.

Whatever defects were in the character of Lewis the fourteenth, it is allowed that he possessed, in the highest degree, the merit of discovering and employing the talents of his subjects. Three times in the course of his reign he had to appoint the governors and preceptors of the royal princes; and, on each of these occasions, the appointment did him honour. The education of the dauphin was intrusted to the duke of Mortaurier and Bossuet; and when the dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Berri, the sons of the dauphin, arrived at a proper age, he appointed the duke of Beauvilliers their governor.

The duke of Beauvilliers was married to a daughter of the celebrated Colbert: the two other daughters of that celebrated minister were married to the dukes of Chevreuse and Mortêmar; all the dukes held charges of importance in the court, and all the writers of the time recount, in their praise, that, while they were attentive to please the king, by an anxious discharge of their duties, none of them ever flattered him in his irregularities, or paid court to the objects of his unlawful attachments. Madame de Montespan never, in the course of

her long sway, saw any of them among her courtiers. In the midst of his wanderings Lewis always showed sentiments of decency and delicacy : he was struck with the contrast between the dignity of the conduct of this family and the ignoble subserviency of the generality of his courtiers. This circumstance first recommended the duke of Beauvilliers to his favour, and, when the duke of Burgundy reached his eighth year, the monarch appointed the duke of Beauvilliers the governor of the duke of Burgundy and his two brothers; with an unlimited power of nominating all the other officers about them, and all their inferior attendants. The duke immediately appointed Fenelon to the place of preceptor; and Fleury, to the place of sub-preceptor. The general impression of Fenelon's character at this time, and the circumstances which immediately led to his appointment, are thus mentioned by the duke de St. Simon.

“ The duke de Beauvilliers, a very pious nobleman; was a great friend of the congregation of St. Sulpice. On some occasion, he remarked a tall person, with a countenance worn by profound study, with eyes pouring fire like a furnace, and a physiognomy, which, no one who had once seen, could ever forget. It combined in it, the most opposite traits of character; but none contradicted the other. It had a mixture of gravity and gallantry; of the serious and the gay; of the doctor in divinity, of the bishop, and of the high nobleman; but acuteness, grace, decency, and, above all, dignity predominated. It required exertion to cease from gazing on him. Every portrait of him spoke; but no painter gave an idea of the justness or the harmony of the original, or of the delicacy, which marked each feature of his countenance. In his manners, there was a similar relief of opposite qualities; they were easy, and made every person around him easy; that fine taste, which

only habits of high life can confer, entered, as of its own accord, into his conversation, with a natural, soft, flowing and insinuating eloquence; a turn of expression, always natural, neat and pleasing, and a singular talent of expressing intelligibly the most abstruse ideas; an easy flow of wit, the quality and quantity of which, exactly suitable to the person, and the occasion, was intended for it, he could turn at pleasure. In company with him, it was impossible to quit him; when he stole away, it was impossible not to run in search of him.

“The duke de Beauvilliers was subdued by such an assemblage of agreeable qualities, and wished that madame de Maintenon should share in his admiration. Twice a week she dined at the hotel de Beauvilliers, or the hotel de Chevreuse, and made a fifth with the two sisters and their husbands; a bell was on the table, and no servant admitted, that they might converse without restraint. It was a sanctuary, from which the court was excluded; but Fenelon was admitted. The purity of his morals obtained for him the esteem of the little society; his feeling piety gained him their hearts; they were enchanted by his spirituality; so that, when the duke of Beauvilliers was named governor of the duke of Burgundy, with power to appoint the preceptor, he immediately cast his eyes on Fenelon.”

No choice was ever more applauded by the public;—among the letters, which Fenelon received on the occasion, M. de Baussét presents us with one addressed to him by his friend M. Tronson, an extract of which must be acceptable to our readers.

“The education, which his majesty has been pleased to intrust to you, is so connected with the state, and with the good of the church, that it is impossible for me not to be highly pleased in seeing it put into such good hands. But, my joy changes into alarm, when I consider

the dangers to which it exposes you. It is true that it gives you an opportunity of doing much good; but it is also true, that it may occasion your being the cause of much evil. You now live in a country, where the gospel of Christ is little known; and where even those who are acquainted with it, make use of it chiefly to do themselves honour before men. It is not necessary to live a great while in it, to bring yourself to regard, as immoderate and excessive, the maxims, which, when you meditated on them at the foot of the cross, appeared to you clear; and to think the most obvious and clear duties, doubtful and impracticable. Circumstances will arise, in which you will be tempted to think prudence and charity require of you to make terms with the world; but, how strange will it be for a christian, and still more for a priest, to enter into any compromise with the enemy of his salvation! Truly, sir, your situation is dangerous: confess that it is difficult not to lose yourself in it, and that, to conduct yourself in it properly, requires no common virtue. If ever the study and meditation of the scriptures were necessary to you, they are at this time indispensable. It should seem, that hitherto you have chiefly wanted it for filling your mind with just notions, and nourishing her with the lessons of eternal truth; henceforth you stand in absolute need of it for keeping yourself free from bad impressions, for preserving yourself from falsehood. It is of infinite consequence to you, never to lose sight of the terrible moment of death, when the glory of the world will disappear like a dream, and every created object, to whom you would then seek for support, will sink under you."— This was certainly the language of friendship.

CHAP. VIII.

FENELON'S EDUCATION OF THE DUKE OF
BURGUNDY.

As the duke of Burgundy was the first of the three royal brothers, in succession to the crown of France, he particularly engaged the attention of Fenelon; his character is thus described by the duke de St. Simon.

“ The duke of Burgundy was born terrible, and during his first years, continued an object of terror. Hardhearted, angry, to the extreme of passion, even against inanimate objects, impetuous to a degree of fury, incapable of bearing the least opposition to his wishes, even from time or climate, without putting himself into paroxysms of rage, that made one tremble for his existence, (a condition in which I have often seen him), stubborn in the highest degree, passionate in the pursuit of every kind of pleasure, addicted to the gratifications of the table and violent hunting; delighted, to a degree of extacy, with music, and with deep play, in which he could not endure to lose, and in which it was personally dangerous to be engaged with him; in fine, abandoned to all the passions, and transported by every kind of pleasure; often ferocious, naturally borne to cruelty, barbarous in his raillery, seizing the ridiculous with astonishing justness; high as the clouds, in his own opinion, considering other men as atoms, with whom he had no resemblance, and regarding his brothers, though they were educated on an equality with him, as intermediate beings, between him and the rest of the human race:—But even in his passions, talent beamed from him: his repartees were surprizing: in his answers, there was always something of justness and depth; he seemed to play with the most abstract subjects; the extent and

vivacity of his genius were astonishing : but they always kept him from attending to any one thing at a time, and thus made him incapable of learning any thing.—The prodigy was, that, in a short space of time, religion and the grace of God, made him a new man ; and changed those terrible qualities into all the opposite virtues. From the abyss, which I have described, there arose a prince, affable, gentle, moderate, patient, modest, humble, austere only to himself, attentive to his duties, and sensible of their great extent. His only object appeared to be, to perform all his actual duties of a son and subject, and to qualify himself for his future obligations."

Fenelon gave up himself entirely to the duties of his employment; he foresaw, says M. de Baussét, that, with the singular disposition which his pupil had received from nature, he would make that rapid progress in science, which none but persons of extraordinary genius can make, and which is not always attainable by the offspring of kings. The difficulty was to subdue the temper, thus forcibly constituted, in such a manner, as to preserve its nobler parts, while all that was too violent in it, was removed. It was the object of Fenelon to place, on the throne, that perfect form of virtue, which he had in his mind, after the example of the great artists of antiquity, who endeavoured to express in their works, that perfect form of beauty, which they carried with them in idea.

But what care, attention, art, management, observation, and choice of means were necessary to model the prince into such a character?—In entering on his office, Fenelon laid down to himself a rule; to which he rigidly adhered, never to ask of the court a favour for himself, his friends, or his family. His private revenue was small, and no pecuniary income was attached to his office; our author gives us extracts of letters which

show that, though his establishment was on the smallest scale, it was with difficulty that he found money to answer his current expenses. Still, he kept the narrowness of his circumstances to himself; he never asked, and, till his nomination to the abbey of St. Valery, at the end of several years after his appointment to his office, he never received a favour from the court. It was more painful to him to refuse the solicitations of his family that he would use his interest at court in their favour. The marchioness de Laval, the only daughter of the marquis de Fenelon, by whom he was educated, requested him to obtain a lieutenancy for her son, then four years old. Fenelon answered her by calling to her recollection his general rule; "I wish," says he, "that consistently with my principles, I could interfere in your son's behalf, but, though my life should depend on it, I would not ask a favour of the king." He leaves her at liberty to act for herself; but intimates, that her solicitations would be fruitless, as the king never conferred offices on persons in early infancy, except those, whose fathers had been killed in battle. Other letters from him, which are cited by M. de Baussét, speak the same language.

Such a proceeding naturally raised him in the esteem of his pupil. In his general demeanor towards him, Fenelon assumed a conduct, by which, though it were full of condescension and affection, he placed himself at an immeasurable height above him. Of this, our author gives the following instance. On some occasion Fenelon had expressed himself to the duke, in a tone of great authority: the duke was indignant; "not so, sir," he said to Fenelon, "I know who I am, and who you are,"—Fenelon made no reply; he put on an air of recollection, and, giving the duke a serious and sorrowful look, retired, and spoke to him no more in the course of

the day. The following morning, Fenelon entered the duke's bed-chamber, while he was asleep; ordered the curtains of his bed to be opened, and the duke to be awakened; then, assuming a cool indifferent look, "sir," he said, "you yesterday told me you knew who you were, and who I was. My duty obliges me to inform you that you know neither. You imagine that you are greater than I am; this some valét has told you; but you oblige *me* to tell you, that I am greater than you. Birth, here, is out of the question. You would pronounce a person mad, who should give himself a preference over his neighbour, because the dews of heaven had fertilized his field and not fallen on his neighbour's. You are not wiser than such a man; if you are vain of your birth, it confers on you no personal merit. You must be sensible that I am your superior in knowledge; I have taught you every thing you know; and, what you know, is nothing in comparison of what remains for me to teach you. With respect to authority, you have none over me. I have full and absolute authority over you. This, you have been often told by the king. You suppose I consider myself very happy in the honour of being your preceptor. Undeceive yourself; I undertook the charge of you at the king's request; it could be no satisfaction to me to receive so fatiguing an employment. That you may have no doubt on this head, I shall now lead you to the king, and request him to appoint me a successor, whose exertions about you will be more successful than mine."

The duke of Burgundy was thunder-struck with this declaration. Remorse, fear, and shame for a time prevented him from speaking; "I am confounded," he cried, "for my conduct of yesterday. If you speak to the king, I am ruined for ever. If you abandon me, what will be thought of me? I promise you, yes I do

promise you, that you shall be satisfied with me in future. But do you promise me,—” Fenelon would make no promise; it was not till a long continuance of good conduct had, convinced him of the sincerity of his pupil’s repentance, and after a formal intercession of madame de Maintenon, that Fenelon received him into favour.

In one respect, Fenelon was particularly fortunate: every one about the person of the royal prince, looked up to him with veneration, and co-operated in his plans of education. When the duke of Burgundy fell into any of those fits of anger and impatience, to which he was so much subject, the governor, preceptor, masters, officers and servants, who attended him, observed a perfect silence. They avoided answering his questions; and either did not look at him, or looked at him with terror, as if they were frightened at being with a person, who discovered signs of aberration of intellect; or with pity, as if they beheld a person, whose mental malady made him an object of compassion. His books, every thing used in the way of his instruction, were removed from him, as useless to a person in this deplorable state. They were not restored to him, and none of the parties resumed their general demeanour towards him, till the fit of passion entirely subsided.

It was a rule with Fenelon, to permit the duke to interrupt his studies, whenever he was inclined to enter into any useful and learned conversation. He adopted this plan the more readily, as he found such conversation tended to humanize his pupil, to soften his mind, to make him gentle and compliant, and to call forth his pleasing qualities. But study was resumed the instant the conversation ceased to be useful. So far from lessening the general hours of study, this conduct increased the duke’s ardour for literature, and induced him to dedicate to it a greater portion of his time. Of his

own accord, he requested some person might always read to him at his meals.

The fables, which Fenelon composed for the duke of Burgundy, are admirable. The great object of them appears to be to soften his pupil's manners, and to open his mind to humanity, beneficence and the milder virtues. Heaven and earth and all animate and inanimate nature are called into action by them, to invite the future monarch to make justice, peace, and happiness reign on earth.

"Who is the young hero," say the songsters of the groves instructed by the shepherds, "that comes among us, and appears to interest himself in our happiness? He seems pleased with our songs; he loves poetry; it will soften his heart, and make him as amiable as he now appears haughty. May he increase in virtue, as a flower just opened by the spring; may he love the gentle pleasures of the mind; may the graces dwell on his eyes! May Minerva reign in his heart! May he equal Orpheus in the sweetness of his strains, and Hercules in his heroic actions! May he have the valour of Achilles, but none of his ferocity! May he be good, wise, beneficent! May he sympathise with men! He loves our songs; they penetrate his heart as the dew falls on our gardens parched by the sun. May the gods moderate his passions! May they ever make him happy! May he restore the golden age! May wisdom fill his soul, and spread from it over all mortals! May flowers grow under his feet!"

What an effect, exclaims M. de Baussét, must instructions, arrayed in such charms, have on a prince who was all soul and wit! But then the fables of Melanthos, and the Medal follow, which the royal pupil could not read without sinking into the earth, at the view, which they gave him of the deformities of his own

character, and almost adoring the being, whose hand was stretched out to save him, to rescue him from himself.—“What terrible woe has befallen Melanthos? Outwardly, all is right with him; inwardly, all is wrong. Last night, he went to rest, the delight of the human race; this morning, one’s ashamed of him, one must hide him. As he was dressing, a plait of his shirt displeased him; all the long day he is to be in a rage, and every one is to suffer; he is an object of fear, an object of compassion; he cries as a child, and roars as a lion. A malignant vapour blackens his imagination, as the ink soils his fingers. Don’t speak to him of what gave him delight a moment since; it is enough that he was pleased with it then, that he should not endure it now. The parties of pleasure, which lately he desired so much, now weary him; they must be broken up; he must contradict and irritate and complain of every one; and then is angry that no one will lose his temper with him. When he can find no pretence for being dissatisfied with others, he turns against himself; he blames himself, finds out that he is good for nothing, he despairs of improvement; he takes it ill that persons will not comfort him; he wishes to be alone; then he can’t endure solitude, and returns to society, and quarrels with all about him. They are silent, he takes offence at their silence; they speak softly, he supposes they speak against him; they talk in their common voice, he pretends they talk too much, and is angry that they appear gay while he is sorrowful; they become serious, he considers it a reproach of his faults; they laugh, he supposes it is at him. What must we do? be as steady and as patient as he is insupportable, and expect in peace that to-morrow morning he will be as good as he was yesterday. This strange humour passes off as it comes: when it seizes him one would suppose that a

spring of the machine was broken, and the whole run backward. He resembles the picture of a person possessed : his reason is inverted ; press him and you may make him say, at full noon, that it is night ; for, when the fit is once on him, there is no longer day or night for his dismounted intellects. Don't say to him, to-morrow we will go to such a place, to divert ourselves ; the man of to-day will not be the same man to-morrow ; he, who is now making you a promise, will disappear at the instant, and in his place you'll see a certain something without shape, without name. It wills, it wills not, it threatens, it trembles, it mixes laughable haughtiness with contemptible littleness ; it cries, it laughs, it plays the fool, it is in a rage. In his fury, however, Melanthos, though wild and mad, and though he do not discover one ray of reason, is witty, is eloquent, is cunning, and abounds in repartee. Be particularly careful to say nothing to him, that is not perfectly just, exact, and reasonable ; he has all his senses about him, to take advantage of it, and put you in the wong ; on a sudden he becomes reasonable, to show your errors. Then, a fit of distress comes on him ; he loves no one ; he has not a friend ; every one persecutes him, every one betrays him ; he has no obligations to any one ; wait a moment, he seems to be in need of every one ; he is full of affection, he loves every one ; he flatters, insinuates, bewitches those who could not bear him ; he confesses his errors, and laughs at his oddities ; he mimicks himself, and he mimicks himself so well, that you would think him again in his airs. After this comedy, so perfectly well acted at his own expense, you hope at last the demoniac is gone for ever. Alas ! you are quite mistaken ; to-night he will again be the demon, and to-morrow he will again laugh at himself, and continue unreclaimed." It was impossible for the

royal pupil not to recognize himself in this picture ; of to read it without emotions and resolutions of amendment.

In a fable less serious, but equally instructive, Fenelon describes Bacchus inattentive to the lessons of Silenus, and a faun laughing at his blunders : Bacchus puts on an air of dignity, and asks the faun, " how he dares to laugh at the son of Jupiter ? " The faun coolly answers, " why does the son of Jupiter dare to make blunders ? "

The dialogues, which Fenelon composed for the duke of Burgundy, are in a higher style. He brings by them, the most celebrated personages of ancient and modern history before his pupil ; and all the speakers take occasion to mention some incident in their lives, that conveys to him, in few but impressive words, some salutary truth. In every page of them, the charms of the milder virtues are happily portrayed ; when vanity or voluptuousness are to be censured, the most pointed ridicule is used ; when tyranny is to be execrated, the strongest language is adopted. A meeting of Cæsar and Cato is supposed :

" Thou wilt be greatly surprized," says Cæsar, " when I inform thee, that I died of the wounds I received from my friends in the senate house. What treachery ! " " No," replies Cato, I am not surprized. Wast thou not the tyrant of those friends, as well as of the other citizens ? Was it not their duty to lend their hands to their oppressed country ? It was their duty to sacrifice not only a friend but a brother, as was done by Timoleon, and even their own children, as was done by Brutus.—But, tell me, in the midst of thy previous glory, wast thou happy ?—No, thou wast not. If thou hadst loved thy country, thy country would have loved thee ; he, whom his country loves, wants no guards ; his country watches round him. True security arises from doing good, and from interesting every one in your preserva-

tion. Thou wouldst reign and be feared. Well, thou didst reign, and thou wast feared : but mankind delivered themselves from the tyrant, and their fears of him, by the same stroke. So may all those perish, who wish to be feared by men ! They have every thing to fear ; all the world is interested in anticipating their acts of tyranny, and delivering themselves from the tyrant."

Such were the exertions of Fenelon in educating the duke of Burgundy. We have seen what the duke saint Simon, whose evidence cannot be refused on this subject, says of their success. Madame de Maintenon, in one of her letters, gives the same testimony : " we saw all those defects, which alarmed us too much in the youth of the duke of Burgundy, gradually disappear. Every year produced, in him, a visible increase of virtue. Rallied, at first, by every one, he obtained, in the end, the admiration of the freest livers. So much had his piety changed him, that, from being the most passionate of men, he became mild, gentle, and complying ; persons would have thought that mildness was his natural disposition, and that he was innately good." —All the writers of the time, who mention the duke of Burgundy, express themselves of him in the same terms.

Fenelon now began to enjoy the fruits of his labours ; his success in the education of the duke of Burgundy had excited general admiration, and his conciliating manners had obtained him general love. Lewis the fourteenth presented him to the abbey of St. Valery, one of the richest in France ; and afterwards named him archbishop of Cambray. He was consecrated in the chapel of St. Cyr, in the presence of madame de Maintenon and his three royal pupils. We enter into the feelings of the preceptor and his pupils on this occasion. Unfortunately, it was almost the last day of the preceptor's happiness ;—To use an expression of the chancellor

d'Aguesseau, "events soon afterwards took place which revealed the secret cause of all his calamities,—his too great taste for the pious excesses of the mystics."—This memorable circumstance in the archbishop's life must now be presented to the reader.

CHAP. IX.

QUIETISM.

A. D. 1696. ÆT. 45.

IN every age of christianity, different denominations of christians, both orthodox and heterodox, have aimed at a sublime spirituality above visible objects and natural feelings, and attempted, by assiduous prayer and abstraction from terrene subjects, to raise themselves to an intellectual contemplation of the Deity, and communion with him. Among them, the Quietists, to whose doctrines the subject of these pages now leads, were eminently distinguished in the ecclesiastical history of the middle ages, and of modern times. The patriarch of modern quietists is Michael de Molinos, a Spanish priest, who resided at Rome, towards the end of the 16th century. His pious reveries procured him a considerable number of disciples of both sexes: they were condemned by the pope, and his disciples were persecuted; but they preserved an obscure existence, and, with a slight modification, or rather, under the cover of more guarded language, were revived in the age of Lewis the 14th, and, during several years, distracted the Gallican church. In a religious, and even a philosophical point of view, the controversy, to which they gave rise, is a curious subject of inquiry, and it certainly

forms the most interesting part of the biography of Fenelon.

Quietism is an abuse of the science of sacred contemplation, or as it is termed in the schools, of MYSTICAL THEOLOGY, and an unwarranted extension of its language. Every age of the christian church furnishes contemplative writers of eminence. To a perfect understanding of the doctrines of the quietists, some acquaintance with the works of those writers is necessary: but, even with that aid, it is not very easy to give an account of them, which will be found at once accurate and intelligible. This difficulty is admitted by Bossuet: he accounts for it by observing that the errors of the quietists arose rather from an exaggeration of what in itself was good, than from their adoption of principles intrinsically erroneous: this will clearly appear from a slight view of their principal errors.

I. To love God for his own perfections, without any view to future reward or punishment, is the highest effort of the soul: an habitual state of it is beyond the lot of man; and, as it would banish hope, the foundation of all christian virtue, and fear, the beginning of all christian wisdom, it cannot be considered the duty of a christian. The quietists however professed that they had attained this habitual state of divine love; they scarcely acknowledged any other virtue; and this supposed freedom from hope and fear, the great agitators of the human mind, was one of the principal reasons of their receiving the appellation of quietists.

II. The contemplation of the Deity raises, in the soul, conceptions and feelings which she can neither express by language, nor even embody by thought. When these are at their highest elevation, a devotional silence ensues, the most profound act of homage, in the opinion of some, which the Creator can receive from the crea-

ture. But a long continuation of this sublime devotion is above the natural powers of man, and, as it would exclude prayer, an attempt to attain it, must seem a disobedience to the precepts of Him, who orders us to pray always, and framed for us a form of prayer. Yet, to this sublime and perpetual silence of the human mind, under the view of the Deity, as to a common duty, the quietist aspired. All explicit acts of devotion, even of the purest or simplest faith, respecting the Trinity, the incarnation, or the particular attributes of the Deity, and still more, those, which arose from the articles on the creed, or the petitions in the Our Father, were below his sublime devotion. His object was to ascend to God alone, and to rest in silent adoration of his divine essence, without hope and without fear. This gave the quietists a further title to their appellation.

III. A constant spirit of conformity to the divine will, is the duty of every christian, and enters into every virtue; but, to discover the divine will, and, when it is discovered, to act in conformity to it, requires exertion on our parts, and a correspondence of action with the graces with which we are favoured.—Inert and inactive, the quietist presented himself to the Deity. A formal petition for good, a formal deprecation of evil, was, in his view, a degradation from the general submission which he owed to the divine will, and fell very short of that abandonment of himself to it, which the soul owed to her Creator.

IV. That resignation of the soul, which relies on God's infinite mercy for eternal happiness in the next life, and for as much of the good of this life as is consistent with her sanctification, was beneath the virtue of a quietist. His resignation was to arise to a sublime indifference, both for temporal and eternal things; he was to look on both, without desire or alarm. Indulg-

ing himself in the impossible supposition, that such a sacrifice could be acceptable to God, he offered himself to reprobation in this life, and to eternal punishment in the next. This indifference to salvation, from a supposed conformity to the will of God, was the highest effort of a quietist's virtue, and completed his title to his appellation.

V. So strange a sacrifice was to be followed by as strange a reward. Far above an humble hope of eternal bliss, and an humble confidence of present favor, the ordinary happiness of the just in this life, the quietist professed to aspire.—His soul was, even in this life, to assume a new existence, to be transformed into the divine essence, and to be so far individualized with the Deity as to lose the consciousness of her existence separate from him.

VI. Whether we express our admiration or love of God, approach him in prayer, or speak his praise, our language must partake of the imperfections of our nature, and must therefore fall infinitely beneath its subject. Still, we should exert ourselves to use, in all our addresses to the Deity, and in every mention of him, the noblest and purest terms in our power; and not only respect for the awful Being whom we address, but good sense and taste, point out to us the duty of avoiding, with the greatest care, every expression, in his regard, which, in itself is low, or has a tendency to raise a vulgar, a grotesque, or an irregular idea. Expressions of the very lowest kind, and tending to raise the most vulgar, grotesque, and irregular ideas, are to be found, too often, in the writings of the quietists, and their expressions of divine love are sometimes such, as would better become the strains of an amatory sonneteer.

VII. The looseness of the doctrinal language of quietism was, perhaps, still more blamable. It was difficult

to fix on it any meaning ; and, when something of its meaning was discovered, it was necessary to understand it with so much limitation, and in a sense so peculiar to the writings of the quietists, that the obvious import of their phrases had generally little, and sometimes no resemblance with the notions they were intended to convey.

Such was the general nature of the charges brought against the quietists. To all, the quietists pleaded guilty, so far as to allow the facts, on which they were built ; but the consequences drawn from them, the quietists confidently denied. They observed, that ascetic devotion, like every other science, had its appropriate nomenclature, upon which its professors were agreed, and by which, therefore, their doctrines were to be tried and explained. Thus explained, they contended that their doctrines would be found to express the noblest and purest sentiments of divine love. They observed, that the language of the ancient was the same as the language of the modern mystics ; and they suggested, that there could be no just reason for withholding from the latter the indulgence which was shown the former.

These assertions were not wholly destitute of foundation. It is admitted that the quietists themselves always protested against the pernicious consequences imputed to their doctrines. From that circumstance, from the general spirit of piety, which is to be found in many parts of their writings, from the acknowledged purity of their morals, and their regular observance of their religious duties, it has been contended, with some appearance of reason, that their religious system, as it was explained by themselves, was much less reprehensible than, standing singly, it appeared in their own writings ; and from these circumstances it was inferred

by many, that their errors lay less in their tenets, than in the language in which their tenets were expressed.

In this mode of viewing the charge against the quietists, much of it was answered; but much of it remained to be answered, for which they had no defence.

I. What is only true with an explanation, is untrue without it. The explanation, which the quietists offered, when put on their defence, was either not to be found, or was only faintly discoverable in their writings. Thus, with respect to the generality of readers, their doctrine stood unexplained, and was therefore, on the face of it, chargeable with the errors with which it was reproached.

II. With all the limitations, by which their writings could be qualified, they could, at most, be useful to very few—to that small number of persons only, whose exalted piety and contemplative habits, enabled them to comprehend and relish such sublime speculations. To persons in the lower ranks of a spiritual life, they would be both unintelligible and prejudicial. Yet, in all their writings, the quietists affected to inculcate, that their doctrine was the only solid foundation of a spiritual life, and that to learn and practise it was the universal duty of christians.

III. The unavoidable tendency of their writings was to draw the faithful from vocal prayer and meditation, the real support of a spiritual life, by exciting them to aim at a state of passive and quiescent devotion, in which, without any other effort on their part, than a recollection of their being under the eye of the Divinity, and an intellectual belief of his presence, they were to expect the pious sentiments, with which he should visit them. Now, when it is considered how very few are capable of preserving a devotional habit of mind, even, for a short time, without actual prayer and meditation, and

even without the assistance of a book, it may easily be perceived, that the state of passiveness and quiescence recommended by the quietists, immediately tended to a general subversion of all prayer and meditation.

IV. But the most pernicious part of their writings was the language in which they attempted to express their resignation to the divine will. In the ordinary acceptance of them, their expressions amounted to an absolute indifference to future rewards and punishments, and even to vice and virtue. That this was not their meaning may be conceded; but it is certain, that, in its common acceptance, the general language of their writings had that import.

CHAP. X.

MADAME DE GUYON.

THE revival of quietism in the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, was owing to madame de Guyon, and her finding too warm and powerful a friend in Fenelon.

She was descended from respectable parents, and inherited from them an ample fortune. Beauty, wit, elegance, whatever is most captivating in the female form or the female mind, she is allowed to have possessed in an eminent degree; and, after a very severe inquiry, her adversaries were forced to confess, that, in every part of her life, her morals were irreproachable. She married at an early age: was left, while she was still young, a widow with children, and then, resolving to give herself wholly to devotion, she delivered up her children to their father's family. This exposed her to censure; but it was admitted that, in the settlement of the pecuniary concerns of her children, she conducted herself with

generosity. Soon after she became a widow, she placed herself under the spiritual direction of father La Combe, a barnabite friar, who had been a disciple of Molinos. Under the impression of his instructions, she framed a system of spirituality, of which the doctrines of Molinos formed the ground-work, and pretended a divine mission to propagate it among the faithful. With that view, she composed two works: her *Short Method of Prayer*, she put into the hands of beginners; her *Torrents*, she presented to the perfect. She travelled over many parts of France, every where made friends and proselytes, and finally arrived in Paris. She was soon admitted to the private parties at the hotel de Beauvilliers: there, in Fenelon, she found a willing hearer; and, when she descanted before him, on the love, the pure, disinterested love of God, she touched a nerve of exquisite sensibility, which vibrated to his heart.

That she had wit and eloquence is allowed by all her contemporaries; but her writings unquestionably abound with spiritual nonsense. She teaches in them, that the soul, which completely abandons herself to the divine will, retains no fear or hope, respecting any thing either temporal or eternal; that man is so worthless, that it scarcely deserves his own inquiry, whether he is to be everlastingly saved or everlastingly lost; that God sometimes takes from a soul every gift of grace and virtue; that the duty of a christian soul in this state, is to permit herself to be buried and crushed; to suffer the stench of her death, to leave herself to rot, and to try no means of avoiding her corruption; that, at length, she becomes insensible of her own stench, and accustoms herself to it, so as to remain at ease in it, without hope of arising out of it: then her inanition commences, and she begins to live to God alone. This should seem a picture of a soul abandoned to disorder, forsaken by God, and har-

dened in vice ; but is presented by madame de Guyon as a picture of the most perfect virtue. In some part of her writings, she assumes a prophetic character ; she pretends to see clearly the state of souls, to have a miraculous power both over souls and bodies ; she calls herself the corner stone of the cross, rejected by human architects ; she declares that she had attained so lofty a state of perfection, that she should no longer pray to the saints, or even to the mother of God, as it did not become the spouse of Christ to request the prayers of others. On some occasions, her language is so offensive to decency, that her expressions will not bear repeating.

In exposing this objectionable part of her writings, Bossuet beautifully apostrophizes the seraphs, and entreats them to bring burning coals from the altar of heaven, to purify his lips, lest they should have been defiled by the impurities which he had been obliged to mention.

From the hotel de Beauvilliers, where it was first introduced, quietism rapidly extended over Paris and the provinces : and attracted the notice of the French clergy. They pronounced it a dangerous innovation, chimerical in theory, subversive in practice, of the true spirit of religion, and leading indirectly to a frightful laxity of morals. At first it was relished by madame de Maintenon, but her good sense quickly led her to suspect it ; she advised upon it with many persons of distinguished eminence in the church ; they universally declared against it, and, from that time, she professed herself the enemy both of quietism, and madame de Guyon. Fenelon would not admit the quietism of madame de Guyon, in the odious sense which was given to that word, and generally espoused her cause.

Bossuet, the bishop of Meaux, was at that time the oracle of the French clergy ; and to him, madame de

Guyon, when her doctrine became a subject of dispute, addressed herself. He declared immediately against the spirituality of madame de Guyon; but, in all his personal intercourse with her, appears to have conducted himself with condescension and delicacy. So much was she satisfied with him, that she communicated to him all her works, both manuscript and in print. She even put into his hands, a manuscript account of her life; it is written with vivacity, and, in some parts of it, pleases by its piety; but it abounds with vanity and enthusiasm. The late Mr. John Wesley translated it into English: in his preface to it, he says, "Such another life as that of madame de Guyon, I doubt whether the world ever saw.—It contains an abundance of excellent things, uncommonly excellent: several things, which are utterly false and unscriptural; nay, such as are dangerously false.—As to madame de Guyon herself, I believe, she was not only a good woman, but good in an eminent degree; deeply devoted to God, and often favoured with uncommon communications of his spirit."

It is very remarkable that madame de Guyon never showed her manuscript to Fenelon:—Was she more apprehensive of Fenelon's good sense and discernment than of Bossuet's?—After having examined with great attention, the writings which madame de Guyon communicated to him, Bossuet had a personal conference with her; he explained to her what he thought reprehensible in her works, and gave her advice for her conduct. She acquiesced in every thing he suggested; he then said mass, and what, in her circumstances, was very remarkable, administered to her the blessed sacrament with his own hands.

Of these circumstances, Bossuet informed Fenelon, and sent him large extracts which he had made from

the writings of madame de Guyon, with remarks on them, and endeavoured to draw from Fenelon a direct condemnation of her doctrine. Fenelon professed the highest deference for his authority; he admitted that several passages in the works of madame de Guyon would not bear the rigid examination of scholastic accuracy; but he contended that they were entitled to a more benign interpretation, and, on that ground, deprecated for them the prelate's severity.

For some time, madame de Guyon lived in the retirement and quiet which Bossuet recommended to her: by degrees, she grew tired of her obscurity: and, hearing that reports injurious to her character were in circulation, she applied to madame de Maintenon, to prevail on Lewis the fourteenth to appoint commissioners to inquire into her doctrines and morals. Madame de Maintenon observed, that madame de Guyon's morals had never been seriously accused; but, as her doctrines had occasioned a considerable degree of ferment in the mind of the public, she thought it a proper subject of inquiry. On madame de Maintenon's suggestion, Lewis the fourteenth appointed the bishop of Meaux, the bishop of Chartres, and M. Tronson, commissioners for this inquiry. They assembled at Issy, a retired country house, belonging to the congregation of St. Sulpice, of which, it has been mentioned, that M. Tronson was superiour.

The conferences were carried on, without much interruption, during six months: the subject was discussed, the authorities examined, and the inferences weighed with great deliberation. Bossuet always admitted that, before these disputes, he was little conversant with mystical theology, and had read little of the mystical writings of St. Francis of Sales, St. John of the cross, and other spiritualists of eminence. At his request,

Fenelon made extracts from those works for him, and accompanied them with observations, evidently calculated to make Bossuet think favourably of them and of madame de Guyon.

After a full and patient examination of the writings of madame de Guyon, and of the general doctrine of quietism, the conferences at Issy closed. The commissioners drew up thirty articles; Fenelon was consulted upon them, made some alterations in them, and added to them four, which were entirely new. In this state they were signed by the three commissioners, and by Fenelon. They contain no mention of madame de Guyon, or her doctrines; but profess to express the doctrines of the church on the principal points of dispute on the subject of quietism. They declare that every christian is bound to practise the theological virtues, and make acts of them; to desire and pray explicitly for his eternal salvation, as a blessing, which God wishes to grant him, and enjoins him to desire; to pray for the remission of his sins, for the blessing of perseverance, for increase of virtue, and for strength to resist temptation; that it is unlawful to be indifferent to salvation, or to any thing with which salvation is connected; that these acts of devotion do not derogate from a high state of perfection; that faith and the ordinary measure of grace will raise a christian to perfection; that we should always endeavour to obtain it, without waiting for a particular inspiration; that acts of faith and hope form a part of the sublimest prayer, as they necessarily enter into charity, which is its foundation: that perpetual prayer does not consist in a perpetual and uninterrupted address to the Deity, but in an occasional prayer, and an habitual disposition and readiness to perform his holy will; that *passive prayer*, as it is described and admitted by St. Francis of Sales, and some other spiritualists, approved

by the roman-catholic church, should not be rejected ; that, without it, persons may be great saints ; that it is a dangerous error to exclude from it, an attention to the particular attributes of the Deity, or to the mysteries of faith, to the passion, the death, or the resurrection of Christ ; that the gift of high prayer is very uncommon, and should always be submitted to the examination of spiritual superiours.

Whatever may have been the errors of madame de Guyon, her docility is entitled to praise. Without any reserve or equivocation, she signed a writing, expressing her acquiescence in the doctrine contained in the articles of Issy. The bishop of Chartres, and afterwards cardinal de Noailles, published condemnations of her writings ; to each, she readily subscribed.

It was soon after the breaking up of the conferences at Issy, that Fenelon was nominated to the archbishopric of Cambray ; every thing respecting quietism then seemed to be set at rest. At his own warm request, Bossuet officiated at the consecration of Fenelon ; and it appears that he was anxious to show to Fenelon this mark of regard.

Quietism, however, continued to gain ground. To stop its progress, Bossuet composed his "*Instruction sur les états de l'oraison.*" It was formally approved by the cardinal de Noailles, and the bishop of Chartres ; and Bossuet earnestly wished that it should have the approbation of the new archbishop. This Fenelon declined on two grounds ; he thought it contained an absolute and unqualified denial of the possibility of a pure disinterested love of God, and that its censures of madame de Guyon were too general and too severe.

It seems to be admitted that there was some ground for the first of these objections ; on the second, little can now be said. It appears, however, that Fénelon's

motives for withholding his approbation of the work appeared satisfactory to the cardinal de Noailles, the bishop of Chartres, and madame de Maintenon; but they required of him immediately to publish some work, in which he should express, in precise and unequivocal terms, his adherence to the doctrine contained in the articles of Issy, and his disapprobation of the doctrine of the quietists.

CHAP. XI.

THE CONTEST OF FENELON AND BOSSUET, ON THE SUBJECT OF QUIETISM, PARTICULARLY ON FENELON'S BOOK "EXPLICATION DES MAXIMES DES SAINTS SUR LA VIE INTERIEURE."

IN performance of his engagements with the cardinal and the bishop of Chartres, and with madame de Maintenon, Fenelon, soon after his consecration, published his celebrated "*Explication des Maximes des Saints sur la Vie interieure*," the immediate cause of all his woe. It is certain, that, before it was printed, it was examined, with the most severe and scrupulous attention, by the cardinal de Noailles and M. Tronson, and by M. Pirot, a theologian of great eminence in his day, attached to Bossuet, and consulted by him, on his work, "*Sur les etats d'oraison*." All of them pronounced the *Maximes des Saints* a golden work; and cardinal de Noailles said, he had no charge to bring against the author, but his too great docility. It is, however, equally certain, that immediately on its appearance, it was distinctly and loudly condemned by the public voice. In a private letter of Bossuet, he justly remarked, that, at a time when a false mysticism did so

much harm, nothing should be written on the subject, but to condemn it, and that the true mystic should be left in peace to God.

Till this stage of the business, Lewis the fourteenth was kept in ignorance of the disputes in question; it was then thought necessary that he should be made acquainted with them. Bossuet fell at his feet, informed him of the fact, and asked "his pardon for not having informed him sooner of the fanaticism of his mitred brother." A less theatrical revelation of the secret, would, perhaps, have been more consonant to the dictates of christian prudence and charity.

To Fenelon, Lewis the fourteenth was never partial. —This circumstance is mentioned both by the duke de St. Simon and the chancellor d'Aguésseau; they observe that Fenelon had a loftiness of genius, of which that monarch felt an awe; and something of an extraordinary elevation of character, which did not accord with thesevere simplicity of the royal mind; so that, though Lewis the fourteenth was not insensible to the merits of Fenelon, and had raised him to one of the highest ranks in the Gallican church, he had no personal attachment to him. Hence, when Bossuet disclosed to Lewis the fourteenth, the fanaticism, as he termed it, of Fenelon, there was nothing in the mind of Lewis the fourteenth, which pleaded in the archbishop's favour, and the monarch's aversion from all novelties, particularly in matters of religion, argued strongly against him. From madame de Maintenon, who had once been so partial to him, it was natural that Fenelon should expect more indulgence; but, at the time of Bossuet's disclosure to Lewis the fourteenth, she was quite alienated from Fenelon. His piety had first recommended him to her; when that piety appeared to her to be tinctured with quietism, it became odious to her. Good sense and severity marked her character,

as much as they did the character of Lewis the fourteenth: it was therefore natural for her to view Fenelon's partiality for madame de Guyon, (for such his refusal to censure her writings must have appeared to madame de Maintenon), with disgust. Besides,—a sense of her own preservation would naturally irritate madame de Maintenon greatly against Fenelon, and induce her rather to seek, than avoid occasions of expressing herself to his disadvantage. Lewis the fourteenth's anger with him was very great, and it appears by a letter, of which M. de Baussét gives his readers an extract, that madame de Maintenon was apprehensive of his being seriously displeased with her for keeping Fenelon's conduct so long concealed from him. Some writers have intimated that madame de Maintenon had a very particular cause of complaint against Fenelon:—by their account Lewis the fourteenth consulted Fenelon on the propriety of making public his marriage with madame de Maintenon, and Fenelon advised the monarch against it.—But this story rests on very slight authority; and M. de Baussét mentions, that among Fenelon's papers he did not discover the slightest circumstance in its support, and that it was disbelieved in Fenelon's family. It is, however, certain that, from the time of which we are now speaking, madame de Maintenon's conduct to Fenelon was unfriendly. To restore him to the favor of her sexagenary lover, might not be in her power; but it is difficult to suppose that it was not in her power to save Fenelon from any mortifications, and, in a great measure, to break his fall; and if she had this power, she owed to her former friendship for him, to his character, at once so amiable and so respectable, and even to the claims which genius in distress ever has on the powerful and the great, to exert it all for him. But her friendly arm was never stretched out to Fenelon. It was

in her own establishment at St. Cyr, that Lewis the fourteenth's displeasure at Fenelon was first publicly displayed. The monarch repaired to St. Cyr, summoned the whole community before him, dismissed three of the religious, who were supposed to be attached to the opinions of madame de Guyon, declared they should never be readmitted, and expressed the strongest indignation against that lady and all her adherents.

Many attempts were made to bring the dispute to an amicable termination. Explanations were suggested, conferences were proposed; but every thing proved ineffectual. Nothing short of a formal retractation would satisfy Bossuet. He declared that the Maxims of the Saints contained some positions which were errors of faith; others, that led directly to quietism and the most fatal consequences; some things that were abominable; and several falsifications of passages in the writings of St. Francis of Sales. Yet he spoke of Fenelon, as an author dear to his heart, who was so used to listen to him, and to whom he was so used to listen. "God," says Bossuet, "in whose presence I write, knows, with what sighs I have raised to him my sorrowful voice, in complaint that a friend of so many years thought me unworthy of treating with him,—me, who never raised my voice more than half a tone against him. I impute it to my sins, that such a friend has failed me, the friend of my life, whom I carry in my heart." Yet, when the cardinal de Noailles and the bishop of Chartres seemed to relax in favour of Fenelon, "take your own measures," Bossuet sternly said to them, "I will raise my voice to the heavens against those errors, so well known to you; I will complain to Rome, to the whole earth; it shall not be said that the cause of God is weakly betrayed; though I should stand single in it, I will advocate it." After the affair of quietism was over,

Lewis the fourteenth asked Bossuet, how he would have acted, if he had not met with the royal support: "I should have raised my voice still higher than I did," answered Bossuet.

The storm continually increasing, Fenelon determined to carry the cause to Rome. For this he requested the monarch's permission, and it was immediately granted. Lewis wrote, with his own hand, to the Pope, a letter, penned by Bossuet. It denounced to the pope the *Maxims of the Saints*, as "a very bad and very dangerous work; condemned by bishops, by many doctors, and a multitude of learned religious men; that the explanations offered by the archbishop could not be supported." The monarch concluded by "assuring the pope, that he would use all his authority to cause the decision of the holy see to be carried into execution." This certainly was not the tone of moderation and impartiality, with which the cause ought to have been presented to the holy see. A few days after the letter was written, the cardinal de Noailles, Bossuet, and the bishop of Chartres, signed a formal condemnation of the *Maxims of the Saints*, and delivered it into the hands of M. Delphini, the pope's nuncio. It was penned by Bossuet, and is expressed with great moderation; but it was greatly softened by the cardinal de Noailles and the bishop of Chartres, after it came from the hands of Bossuet.—It should, however, be remarked, that it mentions as an expression of Fenelon's "the involuntary emotion of Jesus Christ on the Cross." Now, both before and after the bishops had signed this instrument, Fenelon uniformly declared that the expression had been interpolated by the printer's mistake. After such a declaration, the expression should not have been noticed; or, if it were noticed, the archbishop's declaration should have been noticed equally.

Fenelon applied to Lewis the fourteenth for his permission to go to Rome, under any restrictions his majesty should think proper. This, the monarch absolutely refused, but permitted him to send agents to Rome, to act for him. He ordered Fenelon to proceed immediately to his diocese, to remain there, and not to stop at Paris longer than his affairs made his stay absolutely necessary. On receiving this letter, Fenelon wrote to madame de Maintenon, and in his letter, expressed, in short and unaffected language, his concern at his having incurred the displeasure of her and the king, his obedience to his majesty, and his future submission to the sentence of the holy see. Madame de Maintenon was so much affected by Fenelon's letter as to be seriously ill. Lewis reproached her with it; "we are then," he said, "to see you die by inches, for this foolish affair." In passing through Paris, Fenelon stopped before the seminary of St. Sulpice, where he had spent his early, and probably, his happiest hours: but he forbore from entering the house, lest his shewing a regard for it, might expose its inhabitants to his majesty's displeasure. From Paris, he proceeded strait to Cambray.

The agent, whom he employed at Rome, was the abbé de Chantèrac, a relation, with whom he had long been united in the closest friendship, and with whom, he had long lived in the habit of the most confidential communication. The abbé possessed every quality, which could recommend him, on this occasion, to Fenelon. His probity and piety were exemplary; his mode of thinking and acting were mild: he spoke and wrote the Latin and Italian languages with ease and elegance; the subject of the controversy, and every thing, which had passed in respect to it, were familiar to him; he was intimately acquainted with Fenelon's notions and views, and had the most sincere affection and veneration

for him. "My dear friend," Fenelon said in the instructions which he gave him for his conduct at Rome, "consider God alone, in the unhappy business. I often say with Mardocheus, O Lord! every thing is known to thee; thou knowest that, what I have done, is not through pride, through contempt of others, or the secret desire of glory. When God shall manifest his pleasure, we too should be pleased; whatever may be the humiliation he sends us."

Bossuet's agents, were the abbé Bossuet, his nephew, and the abbé de Phillippeaux; both of them had learning and talents, both were attached to Bossuet; but both inclined to violent councils: the friends of Bossuet have laid to their charge the intemperate spirit, which too often, in the course of the controversy, was shewn by Bossuet.

Lewis the fourteenth removed Fenelon from his office of preceptor to the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Anjou, and the duke of Berri, but permitted him to retain the title of their preceptor. His displeasure with Fenelon extended to his relations and friends: the frown of the court was shewn to them all; but, to the eternal honour of them all, it appears that, in spite of the monarch's frown, every friend of Fenelon continued attached to him. The duke de Beauvilliers proclaimed publicly his friendship for him: Lewis the fourteenth reproached the duke with it, and intimated to him, that it might be the cause of his own disgrace. "I will remember," the duke replied, "that Fenelon was appointed preceptor to the duke of Burgundy upon my recommendation; I shall never repent of it. Fenelon always has been, and is now more than ever, my friend. I know I am the work of your majesty's hand: you raised me, you may throw me down. If this should happen, I shall recognize, in what befalls me, the will of the

Almighty. I shall retire, with sincere regret at having displeased your majesty; not, however, without the hope of leading a more quiet life than a court allows." On some occasion, a compromise was suggested; which, if it had been accepted, would have hushed the question, and of course removed the duke from danger; the duke would not even hear of it, and desired it might not be mentioned to Fenelon.

But, among the friends of Fenelon none was more constant than his royal pupil, the duke of Burgundy. The instant he heard of Fenelon's banishment, he ran to his grandfather, flung himself at his feet, implored, with tears, his clemency, and, as a proof of the purity of Fenelon's doctrine, appealed to what his own conduct would ever be. Lewis was affected with the noble conduct of his grandson; when he recovered himself, he told him that, what he solicited was not a matter of favour: that the purity of faith was at stake, "and of that," he said, "Bossuet is the best judge." The duke retired in silence: how he felt and how he conducted himself afterwards in respect to Fenelon, will be mentioned in a future page of this work: the preceptor and pupil were worthy of each other.

After the cardinal de Noailles, the bishop of Chartres, and Bossuet had published their condemnation of the *Maximes des Saints*, the two former almost quitted the war, and left the field to Bossuet and Fenelon. "Then," to use the words of the chancellor D'Aguésseau, "were seen to enter the lists, two combatants, rather equal than alike. One of them of consummate skill, covered with the laurels which he had gained in his combats for the church, an indefatigable warrior; his age and repeated victories might have dispensed him from further service, but his mind, still vigorous, and superior to the weight of his years, preserved, in his old age, a great portion

of the fire of his early years. The other, in the full strength of youth, not yet much known by his writings, but enjoying the highest reputation for his eloquence, and the loftiness of his genius: long exercised in the subject of discussion, a perfect master of its language: nothing in it was above his comprehension, nothing in it which he could not explain, and nothing, when he explained it, which did not appear plausible. Before they became rivals, they had long been friends; both were estimable for the purity of their morals; both, amiable for the softness of their manners; both, an ornament of the church, of the court, and of human nature: one was respected as the sun setting in full majesty; the other, as the sun, who promised to fill the universe with his glory, if he could but disengage himself from a kind of eclipse in which he was unhappily involved."

It is admitted that the tenets objected by Bossuet to Fenelon may be reduced to two:

1st, That a person may attain an habitual state of divine love, in which he loves God, purely for his sake, and without the slightest regard to his own interests, even in respect to his eternal happiness. This was said to elevate charity beyond human power, at the expense of the fear of God, and the hope of divine favour.

2dly, That, in such a state, it is lawful, and may even be considered as an heroic effort of conformity to the divine will, to consent to eternal reprobation, if God should require such a sacrifice; the party who makes such an act, conceiving, at the moment, that such a sacrifice is possible.

It was also objected to Fenelon, that he refused to subscribe to the condemnation of madame de Guyon, in whose writings these propositions were expressed in the boldest terms; who maintained the possibility of a permanent existence, of a state of divine love, depend-

ing only on faith, and a kind of intellectual view of the Deity, from which prayer and every other devotional effort was absent, and even kept away; who confounded a holy resignation to the divine will, with indifference to salvation; whose works abounded with expressions on the love of God, offensive to good sense and delicacy; with ridiculous and impossible suppositions, and monstrous and disgusting errors. These were the charges brought by Bossuet against Fenelon, with subsidiary charges of inconsistency, duplicity, falsification, subterfuge, and other similar accusations. Fenelon retorted on Bossuet, that, by denying the pure love of God, he elevated the hope and fear of God at the expense of charity, and that his censures of madame de Guyon were too general, and immoderately severe.

During this memorable controversy Bossuet and Fenelon repeatedly issued from the press in the way of attack and defence. It is admitted that each of them exerted his utmost talents for composition, in these publications: that no work of either is more highly finished: that each shews in his writings on this occasion, a conscious dignity of character; each cautiously abstains from vulgar abuse, but each exerts every power and artifice of composition to excite the resentment of his reader against his adversary. Had such works been written, on any subject of a general and permanent interest, they would now be found, with the *Introduction to Universal History*, and with *Telemachus*, in every library and on many a toilet: but, from the perishable nature of the subject, after a momentary celebrity, they sunk into oblivion, and are now read by those only, who anxiously labour to acquire the highest polish of the French language.

Sure of the active support of his sovereign, and confiding, as he certainly might very far, in the justice of

his case, Bossuet appears to have expected that the court of Rome would have proceeded almost immediately to the condemnation of the accused book. With this impression, Bossuet's instructions to his agents were, to avoid the slightest intimation, that the condemnation of it, "would be attended with the least difficulty; that, in whatever manner the sentence of condemnation should be pronounced, it would meet with no resistance." They were to represent, that "Fenelon, in his own diocese, was considered an heretic; and that, as soon as Rome should speak, Cambray and all the Low Countries would rise against him." But the court of Rome was too wise to proceed with such precipitancy. For some time, the pope took no other step in the business, than to consult with his confidential advisers on the best method of proceeding in it. He then appointed a commission, composed of the persons in Rome most distinguished for learning and piety; they were directed to extract, from the book, such propositions as appeared to them reprehensible. Several propositions, which appeared to them of that description, they extracted; and they referred them to the pope himself, stating, at length, their reasons for supposing them erroneous. By the pope's orders, they were transmitted to the agents of Bossuet and Fenelon, for their observations; and, when those were returned, all the papers were again laid before the pope, and, both in public and private consistories, repeatedly discussed in his presence. The pope permitted nothing of his sentiments to transpire, except that he thought the matter submitted to him was important and full of difficulty. Both Bossuet and his royal master were surprised and mortified at this delay. At the instigation of Bossuet, the monarch expressed his impatience of it to the nuncio, and the nuncio described it strongly to the pope. His holiness desired him to

observe to the king, that, "as the three bishops had become accusers of Fenelon, and had given the greatest publicity to their charge against him, every rule of justice, and the practice of every judicial court required, that Fenelon should be fully heard in his defence."

For a time, the king seemed willing to leave the matter to its course; but Bossuet intimated to him, that it was essential both to his glory, and to the good of the church, that the sentence of Rome should be accelerated. He composed, in the name of Lewis, a memorial, stating succinctly the arguments used against Fenelon, and urging his speedy condemnation. Lewis, with his own hand, delivered this memorial to the nuncio. Some time after, Lewis dismissed the abbé de Beaumont, and the abbé de Langeron, both of whom were the confidential friends, and the former of whom was the nephew of Fenelon, from their situation of sub-preceptors to the royal dukes: all Fenelon's other relations, and several of his friends, were forbidden the court. The abbé Bossuet and the abbé Phillippeaux heard this with a transport of joy, and earnestly recommended that the proscription might be extended to father le Chaise, father Valois, and some other religious persons about the court; "they wish all possible evil," writes the abbé Bossuet to his uncle, "to the king, to madame de Maintenon, to the archbishop of Paris, and to yourself."

Under all these indignities, Fenelon preserved the pious serenity of his mind. "Yet but a little while," he says in one of his letters, "and the deceitful dream of this life will be over. We shall meet in the kingdom of truth, where there is no error, no division, no scandal; we shall breathe the pure love of God; he will communicate to us his everlasting peace. In the mean while, let us suffer, let us suffer; let us be trodden under

foot ; let us not refuse disgrace ; Jesus Christ was disgraced for us : may our disgrace tend to his glory !”

We have seen that Lewis the fourteenth had permitted Fenelon to retain the title of preceptor to the royal dukes ; even that slight indulgence was now withdrawn from him : Lewis ordered the list of the officers about their persons to be presented to him, and, with his own hand, drew a line over the name of Fenelon.

The pens both of Fenelon and Bossuet were soon put into action : a pastoral instruction of cardinal de Noailles was the signal for war ; Fenelon, in answer to it, addressed four letters to the cardinal ; five or six different works were sent to the press by Bossuet : all his controversial talents and eloquence are displayed in them. Fenelon replied to them : by the talents which he displayed in his replies, he fairly balanced his rival's character as a writer, and, by their apparent candour and simplicity, won over every heart to his cause. “ How painful is it to me,” he says to Bossuet, “ to carry on, against you, this combat of words ! and that, to defend myself against your terrible charges, it should be necessary for me to point out your misrepresentations of my doctrine ? I am the writer so dear to you, whom you always carry in your heart ! yet you endeavour to plunge me, as another Molinos, into the gulph of quietism. Every where you weep over my misfortunes, and, while you weep, you tear me into pieces. What can be thought of tears, to which recourse is only had, when crimination is to be aggravated ! You weep on my account, and you suppress what is essential in my writings : you join together sentences in them which are wide asunder. Your own exaggerated consequences, formally contradicted in my text, you hold out as my principles ! What is most pure in my text, becomes blasphemy in your representation of it ! Believe me, we

are too long a spectacle to the world ; an object of derision to the ungodly ; of compassion to the good. That other men should be men, is not surprising ; but that the ministers of Jesus Christ, the angels of the church, should exhibit such scenes to the prophane and the unbeliever, calls for tears of blood. How much more fortunate would have been our lot, if, instead of thus consuming our time in interminable disputes, we had been employed in our dioceses, in teaching the catechism, in instructing the villager to fear God, and bless his holy name."

Bossuet now saw, with surprise, that Fenelon met him with equal arms, and that, if the public opinion did not yet consider Fenelon to be wholly innocent, it considered him to be cruelly persecuted, and Bossuet to be his persecutor. Besides, it had transpired, that in the consistories at Rome, many voices had declared in favour of Fenelon.

Another battery was now opened against the archbishop : an attempt was made to revivie the stories, often propagated but fully disproved, of the too great familiarities of madame de Guyon with father La Combe. At this time father La Combe had been a prisoner, during ten years, in the chateau de Lourds, at the foot of the Pyrennees. To have him more under its command, the court caused him to be transferred to the chateau de St. Vincennes : there, he was prevailed upon to write to madame de Guyon a letter, exhorting her to acknowledge and repent of their intercourse. It was expected, that the ascertainment of this fact, would indirectly operate to the detriment of Fenelon, by exposing his connection with that lady to a similar suspicion. So much importance was annexed to this circumstance, that cardinal de Noailles himself, with the curé de St. Sulpice, took the letter to madame de Guyon, and pressed her, in the most solemn and moving terms, to confess the fault.

She heard them with surprise, coolly asserted her innocence, and declared, that father La Combe must have been mad when he wrote such a letter. The accusation, however, was believed by the cardinal and by Bossuet: The latter forwarded it to his nephew at Rome: "It is better than twenty theological demonstrations," was the nephew's answer on receiving it. "These are the arguments we most need." But the whole of this wretched manœuvre ended in nothing: it was soon discovered that father La Combe's intellects were wholly deranged; he was removed to Charenton, and died in the course of the following year, in a state of complete insanity. Still the stories of Fenelon's supposed habits with madame de Guyon were kept alive: "It is asserted here," the abbé de Chanterac writes to him, "that you followed madame de Guyon equally in her disorders, as in her errors. To impress this on the mind of the public, every new courier is said to bring new confessions of the woman, and fresh discoveries of her abominations. It is asserted that your adversaries are in possession of the originals of several of your letters to her, which however, to save your reputation, are not to be produced till the last extremity." It was in this stage of the business, that Fenelon's friends were dismissed the court. When the abbé de Chanterac informed the pope of this circumstance, his holiness was greatly affected; he repeated to himself with great emotion: "*expulerunt nepotem, expulerunt consanguineos, expulerunt amicos,*" they have put out of doors his nephew, his relations, his friends!

In spite of the odious measures we have mentioned, in spite of the logic and eloquence of Bossuet, the public favour began to manifest itself more strongly for Fenelon, and it hourly became more and more uncertain, which would ultimately prove victorious, Bossuet, aided by the favour of the sovereign, or Fenelon, who had nothing to

oppose him, but the exquisite beauty of his genius, and the reputation of his virtue.

At this critical moment, Bossuet published his celebrated *Relation du Quietisme*. In composing it, he availed himself of some secret and confidential writings which he had received from madame de Guyon, of private letters written to him by Fenelon, during their early intimacy, and of a letter, which, under the seal of friendship, Fenelon had written to madame de Maintenon, and which, in this trying hour, she unfeelingly communicated to Bossuet. The substance of these different pieces, Bossuet connected with so much art, interwove in them the mention of so many curious facts, so entertaining an account of madame de Guyon's visions and pretensions to inspiration, and so many interesting anecdotes of the conduct of Lewis the fourteenth, and madame de Maintenon during the controversy; he occasionally inserted in it, so much dignified and truly episcopal eloquence, he deplored so feelingly the errors of Fenelon, presented his own conduct, during their disputes, in so favourable a view, and put the whole together with such exquisite skill, expressed it with so much elegance, and set it off by such brilliancy of thought and expression, as excited universal admiration, and attracted universal favour to its author. In one part of it, he assumed a style of mystery, and announced, "that the time was come, when it was the Almighty's will, that the secrets of the union should be revealed."—A terrible revelation was then expected, it seemed to appal every heart: it seemed that the existence of virtue itself would become problematical, if it should be proved that Fenelon was not virtuous.

A letter of madame de Maintenon shews the eagerness with which the extraordinary performance of Bossuet was read; "they talk here of nothing else; they lend

it, they snatch it from one another, they devour it:" she herself circulated copies of it every where. Nothing could exceed the consternation, which this raised among the friends of Fenelon, at Rome, and at Paris:—His first intention was not to answer it; but the abbé de Chantèrao informed him, that the impression, which it made against him at Rome was so strong, that a full refutation of it was absolutely necessary. He therefore determined to reply. Bossuet's relation appeared in the middle of June, Fenelon's reply was published on the third of August.

A nobler effusion of the indignation of insulted virtue and genius, eloquence has never produced. In the first lines of it Fenelon placed himself above his antagonist, and to the last preserves his elevation. "Notwithstanding my innocence," says Fenelon, "I was always apprehensive of a dispute of facts; I knew that such a dispute between bishops must occasion considerable scandal. If, as the bishop of Meaux has a hundred times asserted, my book be full of the most extravagant contradictions, and the most monstrous errors, why does he have recourse to discussions, which must be attended with the most terrible of all scandals? why does he reveal to libertines what he terms a woeful mystery, a prodigy of seduction? why, when the propriety of censuring my book is the sole question, does he travel out of it's text? but the bishop of Meaux begins to find it difficult to establish his accusations of my doctrine; the history of madame de Guyon then comes to his aid, and he lays hold of it as an amusing tale, likely to make all his mistakes of my doctrine disappear and be forgotten. Thus, when he can no longer argue the point of doctrine, he attacks me personally; he publishes on the house-top what before he only ventured to whisper: he has recourse to all that is most odious in human society. The secret of private

letters written in intimate and religious confidence, (the most sacred after that of confession), has nothing inviolable in him. He produces my letters to Rome; he prints letters which I writ to him in the strictest confidence.—But all will be useless to him; he will find that nothing that is dishonourable ever proves serviceable.” He then takes up Bossuet’s insinuations respecting madame de Guyon; he produces the very honourable testimonies of the bishop of Geneva, both in respect to her piety and her morals, under which she was first introduced to him. He observes to Bossuet, that, after the long examination he had made of her doctrine, he permitted her to frequent the sacraments habitually, and even allowed her to state, in the declaration which he made her sign, that it had always been her wish to write in the most orthodox sense, and that she never thought it was possible to give her words any other meaning. “Now,” continues Fenelon, “if the bishop of Meaux, who had a full knowledge of madame de Guyon’s most secret manuscripts, of those very manuscripts, from which, in his Relation, he has given such remarkable extracts, with a view of representing her as infected with the most extravagant and dangerous principles; if, in the full possession of these documents, he still thought her intentions good, might not I, to whom all these manuscripts, all these visions, all these pretended miracles were altogether unknown, be allowed to entertain that private opinion in favour of madame de Guyon’s intentions, which Bossuet, in a public instrument, admitted to be presumable?” This positive assertion by Fenelon, of his absolute ignorance of madame de Guyon’s manuscripts, is of the utmost importance to his character, as it necessarily goes very far in excusing his refusal of subscribing to Bossuet’s condemnation of her. It is to

be observed, that, throughout the controversy, the truth of this assertion was never questioned.

Bossuet, in his relation of quietism, exclaimed, " May I venture to say it? Yes, I can say it confidently, and in the face of the sun. Could I, the most simple of mortals, the most incapable of artifice and dissimulation; could I, single and unaided, from the solitude of my cabinet, buried in papers and books, by imperceptible springs, put all the court, all Paris, all the kingdom, all Europe, Rome itself into action, to ruin merely by the strength of my own personal credit the archbishop of Cambray?" In answer to this animated figure, Fenelon cites a passage on which Bossuet deplores the general seduction in Fenelon's favour. " You lament then," says Fenelon, " the sudden and universal seduction in my favour! Permit me to avail myself against you of your own vivid expressions. Could I, in exile at Cambray, from the solitude of my cabinet, by imperceptible springs, attach to me so many disinterested and impartial persons, who, before they read my replies to you, were so prejudiced against me?—Could I in exile, I contradicted, I overwhelmed on all sides, could I, do that for my writings, which the bishop of Meaux, in credit, in power, with so many means of making himself dreaded, could not do against them? The bishop of Meaux complains that cabals and factions are in motion; that passion and interest divide the world. Be it so! But, what interest can any person have to stir in my cause? I, stand single, and am wholly destitute of human help; no one, that has a view to his interest, dares look upon me. Great bodies, great powers," says the bishop, " are in motion; but where are the great bodies, the great powers that stand up for me! These are the excuses the bishop of Meaux gives, for the world's appearing to be

divided on his charges against my doctrine, which at first he represented to be so completely abominable, as to admit of no fair explanation. This division, in the public opinion, on a matter which he represented to be so clear, makes him feel it advisable to shift the subject of dispute from a question of doctrine to a personal charge."

Fenelon thus concludes:—"If the bishop of Meaux has any further writing, any further evidence to produce against me, I conjure him not to do it by halves. Such a proceeding is worse than any publication; I conjure him to forward it instantly to Rome. I fear nothing, thank God, that will be communicated and examined judiciously; I fear nothing but vague report and unexamined allegation."

"I cannot here forbear from calling to witness the adorable Being whose eye pierces the thickest darkness, and before whom we must all appear; he reads my heart; he knows that I adhere to no person, and to no book; that I am attached to him alone, and to his church; that incessantly, in his holy presence, I beseech him, with sighs and tears, to restore peace to his church, and shorten the days of scandal; to bring back the shepherds to their flocks; to reunite all in his holy mansion, and bestow on the bishop of Meaux as many blessings as the bishop of Meaux has thrown crosses on me."

Never did virtue and genius obtain a more complete triumph. Fenelon's reply, by a kind of enchantment, restored to him every heart. Crushed by the strong arm of power, abandoned by the multitude, there was nothing to which he could look but his own powers. Obligated to fight for his honour, it was necessary for him, if he did not consent to sink under the accusation, to assume a port still more imposing than that of his

mighty antagonist. Much had been expected from him, but none had supposed that he would raise himself to so prodigious a height as would not only repel the attack of his antagonist, but actually reduce him to the defensive.

Bossuet published remarks on Fenelon's reply; Fenelon published an answer to these, which, on the question of facts, fixed the public in his favour.

"What an indecency," says Fenelon, "it is to behold in the house of God, in his very sanctuary, his principal ministers unceasingly venting on each other, vague declamations which prove nothing. Your age, and my infirmities, must make us soon appear before Him, whom credit cannot influence, eloquence cannot seduce. You profess to be afraid of my power, to fear my subtility. To what are you reduced! You are under a necessity of proving seriously that I have more power than you! what cannot your subtility prove, if it can prove a fact so contrary to what is known to the whole world?"

In one of his works, Bossuet has compared Fenelon and madame de Guyon to the heretic Montanus and his prophetess Priscilla. Fenelon exclaimed against the odiousness of the comparison: Bossuet, in his justification, alledged that a criminal intercourse between Montanus and Priscilla had never been suspected; that it was a mere commerce of mental illusion, like that of Fenelon and madame de Guyon.—"But," says Fenelon, "does my illusion, such even as you represent it, resemble that of Montanus? That fanatic had detached from their husbands two wives, who followed him every where; he delivered them up to a false spirit of prophecy, he was himself possessed by it, and all three in a transport of diabolical fury strangled themselves. Such was the man, the horror of all succeeding times, to whom

you compare me; me, the dear friend of your life, whom you carry in your heart. You say, I have no right to complain of the comparison. No, my lord bishop, I do not complain: I grieve for you—for you, who can coolly say you accuse me of nothing, when you compare me to Montanus! Who now believes what you say? You have done for me more than I could have done for myself. But what a wretched comfort is this, when I see the scandal it brings into the house of God; what a triumph your disgrace is to heretics and libertines.”

“The scandal was not so great,” says the chancellor D’Aguésseau, “while these great antagonists confined their quarrel to points of doctrine: but the scene was truly afflicting to all good men, when they attacked one another on facts, and differed so much in their accounts, that, as it was impossible that both should speak the truth, persons saw with concern, but saw with certainty, that one of the two prelates must be guilty of untruth. Without saying on which side the truth lay, it is certain that the archbishop of Cambray contrived to obtain, in the opinion of the public, the advantage of probability: —*eut se donner, dans l’esprit du public, l’avantage de la vraisemblance.*” From this time the question of facts was abandoned.

The apologies of Fenelon did not produce a less effect at Rome, than they did at Paris; and his friends, to use their own words, experienced the same joy, as if, having seen him for a long time struggling with the waves, and finally sinking under them, they beheld him regain the shore in safety. The happiness of the abbé de Chantérac was perfect: “When I saw,” he writes to Fenelon, “your innocence on the point of being overwhelmed in consequence of your repugnance to answer the unjust charges brought against you, and that your silence put

the doctrine of the church in danger of being confounded with the most gross errors, I own to you that my soul was often sorrowful, and that as I sat under the juniper branches I could not always keep my sorrows within bounds. '*Cum sederet subter juniperum, petivit anima sua ut moreretur.*' (III. Lib. Reg. Cap. 19.) But now, when the truth is known, and you have done all that depended on you to clear it up and defend it, whatever may happen will so clearly appear to be the will of God, in our regard, that I shall not venture to complain of it to him, or even to be afflicted at it. I shall quietly submit myself to his holy will."

The pope and cardinals received Fenelon's apology from the abbé in the most affectionate manner: all of them expressed themselves satisfied with it; the abbé mentions that, when they found how completely Fenelon vindicated his innocence, they seemed to him to feel themselves eased of a weight which oppressed them.

The mortification of the abbé Bossuet was equal to their joy. "Fenelon," he writes to the bishop of Meaux, "is a wild beast, to be hunted down for the honour of the mitre and of truth, till he is quite subdued and rendered incapable of doing further mischief. Did not St. Augustin pursue Julian even to death? It is necessary to deliver the church from the greatest enemy she ever had. It is my opinion that neither the bishops, nor the king, can, in conscience, allow any rest to the archbishop of Cambray."

In the course of the discussion, it was frequently suggested to Fenelon, that he might make a useful diversion in his favour, by retorting on Bossuet, that the expressions which Bossuet used in combating disinterested love, went as far to the ruin of charity as the language of Fenelon, in the support of disinterested love, went to

the ruin of hope ; but those suggestions were rejected by Fenelon : " there might," he said, " be prudence in such a measure ; but let me live and die in simplicity."

It is necessary to mention a circumstance in the controversy, which gave particular scandal. In the days of their intimacy Fenelon had communicated, in writing, to Bossuet, the cardinal de Noailles, and M. Tronson, an account of the most secret disposition of his conscience : among them, it was called his confession. Alluding to it, Fenelon, in the course of the controversy, accused Bossuet of revealing his confession. Bossuet held out this to the public as a charge of having betrayed Fenelon's sacramental confession. Such a disclosure is justly considered, among roman-catholics, as a crime of the blackest die. In roman-catholic countries, it is punishable with death, and none but a villain, in whom every sentiment of religion, virtue, and honour is lost, is supposed to be capable of it. Bossuet's representation of this fact raised a storm of indignation against Fenelon ; but it was immediately explained by him to the satisfaction of the public, and Bossuet never returned to the charge : but the language in which Fenelon made the charge, was very blameable. The public at large was wholly ignorant of the circumstance, which explained it, and could not therefore but suppose that Bossuet stood accused by Fenelon of revealing his sacramental confession.

CHAP. XII.

THE POPE'S CONDEMNATION OF FENELON'S
"MAXIMS OF THE SAINTS."

A. D. 1699. ET. 48.

STILL the proceedings at Rome lingered.—The pope had begun by appointing twelve consultors, who were to hold their meetings in the chamber of the master of the Sacred Palace. Twelve times, they met; and, finally, were divided, in their opinions.

The pope then appointed a congregation of cardinals: these two met, in conclusion, twelve times, and came to no resolution: he then appointed a new congregation of cardinals; they met in consultation fifty-two times, and at length extracted from Fenelon's work, several censurable propositions, and reported them to the pope: after which, they had thirty-seven meetings to settle the form of the censure. During all this time, private conferences on the subject were continually held by the pope's direction, and sometimes in his presence.

Lewis the fourteenth's impatience at the delay was now shewn in a marked manner. He wrote to the pope in strong terms: he stated, in his letter, that "while he expected from his zeal and friendship a speedy decision on the archbishop's book, he could not bear, without sorrow, that the sentence so necessary to the peace of the church, was delayed by the artifices of those, to whose interest the delay was of advantage." He entreats his holiness, in the most pressing terms, to pronounce sentence immediately. He accompanied his letter with one to the cardinal de Bouillon, his ambassador at Rome, making him responsible for the event.

It was evident that the pope sought to avoid a final decision : the height of the subject, almost always above reason, made it difficult to express an opinion upon it; in such terms, as should be both intelligible and exact; and it was difficult to censure any of Fenelon's propositions, without censuring a proposition of a similar sound, in the writings of some writer, of whom the roman-catholic church thinks with respect. Besides,—though Fenelon always declared his determination to submit implicitly to the judgment of the roman see, and much docility might be expected from him, it was felt that such an act of submission was an effort of heroic humility, almost beyond the power of human nature; and therefore not to be taken for granted. If Fenelon should not submit, there was a powerful party, and, at a time not very distant, there might be a powerful monarch, who would espouse his cause, and this might bring fresh troubles into the church, already too much agitated by the disciples of Jansenius. It was also observed to the pope, that, in many respects, it was merely a dispute of words. On the habitual state of disinterested divine love, the attainment of which was said to be inculcated in Fenelon's writings, Fenelon himself uniformly declared his opinion that a permanent state of divine love, without hope and without fear, was above the lot of man; and Bossuet himself allowed that there might be moments, when a soul, dedicated to the love of God, would be lost in heavenly contemplation,—and then love, and adore without being influenced either by hope or fear, or sensible of either. As to the sacrifice of eternal bliss, an offer of which, Fenelon was said to consider as the ultimate effort of heroic resignation to the divine will, Fenelon assimilated it to the wish of Moses, to be blotted from the book of life, (Ex. c. 32. v. 32, 33, 34.), and to the wish of St. Paul, (Rom. c. 9. v. 3.) to be an ana-

thema,—for the sake of those for whom they interceded. Bossuet justly contended, that both the patriarch and the apostle were to be understood, with an implied supposition, that the sacrifice which they offered was consonant to his will, and might tend to his glory. This was admitted by Fenelon, but he contended that the similar expressions of modern mystics should receive a similar construction. As to the strange comparisons, the extravagant suppositions, and the language of 'fondness' used by madame de Guyon and other mystics in expressing their love of God, and their communion with him; which were reprobated in the harshest terms by Bossuet, Fenelon admitted that they could not be censured too severely, if it were just to construe them strictly; but he contended that theological precision could not be required, with justice, from such writers; and that these expressions should be treated, merely as effusions of pure and fervent minds, who, feeling nothing wrong in themselves, suspected nothing wrong in others. As to the charge of advocating the cause of madame de Guyon; Fenelon expressly declared his readiness to desist from any defence of her, and even from mentioning her name; he allowed that her writings were in some respects justly censurable; but he alledged, that much was imputed to her, of what she was not guilty, and that her real errors were greatly exaggerated: on that account he avowed an unwillingness to subscribe to a general censure either of her conduct or her writings.

With these explanations, the real difference between Bossuet and Fenelon was not very great; and perhaps rather to be felt than very accurately defined or described. On this ground, it was suggested to the pope, that, without pronouncing a formal decision on the points in contest, it would be prudent in him, to be satisfied with issuing a brief, in which the general doctrine of the

church should be accurately propounded, and both parties required to abstain from future discussions. It appears that the pope himself inclined to this plan; but, unfortunately for Fenelon, Lewis the fourteenth had made himself a party in the cause, and Lewis the fourteenth was too powerful a suitor, to be denied justice. In spite even of this circumstance, the final decision of the cause was repeatedly postponed, and the papal balance remained steady for a period of time, which the adversaries of Fenelon thought very long. At last it trembled, with a slight preponderance, against Fenelon. —The pope issued a brief, by which twenty-three propositions, reduceable to the two we have mentioned, were extracted from the obnoxious work, and condemned: but the expressions used in the condemnation of them, were gentle; the propositions were said to be condemned because they might insensibly lead the faithful to errors already condemned by the catholic church; and because they contained propositions, which, in the sense of the words which immediately presented itself, and according to the order and connections of the sentiments, were rash, scandalous, ill-sounding, offensive to pious ears, pernicious in practice, and erroneous; but none of them was said to be heretical, and the name of Fenelon, as the author of them, was not once mentioned in the brief. These circumstances soothed the sorrow of the friends of Fenelon, and considerably mortified his adversaries. Their mortification was increased by a bon mot of the pope, which was soon in every mouth, that, “Fenelon was in fault for too great love of God; and his enemies equally in fault, for too little love of their neighbour.” “Now is the time come,” wrote the good abbé de Chanterac to his friend, “to put in practice, whatever religion has taught you to be most holy, in a perfect con-

formity to the will of God. You and all attached to you, must be obedient to Jesus Christ, to death, even to the death of the cross. You will want all your piety, all the submission which you have so often promised the pope in your letters, to possess your soul in patience, when you read the brief, which he has just published against your book.—It was mentioned to me, that I ought to see him, to assure him of your submission,—All of us together cannot be so much affected, as he appears to be, for what may be painful to you in his brief :—most pious, most holy, most learned ;—were epithets he often applied to you. All your friends here think you should receive this brief with the most perfect submission ; and that the more simple your submission shall be, the more acceptable it will be to God and man. Jesus Christ agonized on the cross, exposed to the judgments of men, appears to me the true model which religion now holds out for your imitation, and to which the Holy Ghost wishes you to conform. It is chiefly in situations like that, in which providence has now placed you, that the just man lives by faith, and that we ought to be founded and rooted in the charity of Jesus Christ. Who shall separate us from it?—never was I so intimately united to you for eternity.”

The first information of the pope's brief was conveyed by Fenelon's brother to him, at the moment he ascended the pulpit of his cathedral, to preach ; and the news of it was immediately circulated through the congregation. Fenelon recollected himself, paused for a few minutes, and then, changing the plan of his sermon, preached on the duty of obedience to the church. The subject of his discourse, the sentiments it expressed, the religious calm, with which it was delivered, the solemn engagement, which he contracted by it, to practise on that

trying occasion, the submission which he preached, drew tears of sorrow, respect, and admiration from the whole audience.

The first moment it was in his power, Fenelon published a pastoral letter, addressed to all the faithful of his district:—"Our holy father," he says in it, "has condemned my book, entitled the '*Maximes des Saints*,' and has condemned, in a particular manner, twenty-three propositions extracted from it. We adhere to his brief, and condemn the book, and the twenty-three propositions, simply, absolutely, and without a shadow of reserve." He sent his pastoral letter to the pope, and solemnly assured his holiness, that he would never attempt to elude his sentence, or raise any questions on its regard.

"Thus," to use the language of the chancellor d'Aguésseau, "the archbishop of Cambray, who had fought like a lion in defence of his work, while there was a chance of victory, or even a chance of not being conquered, submitted in an instant, like the lowliest sheep of his flock. His pastoral letter, short and affecting, comforted his friends, afflicted his enemies, and falsified every prediction which had been made of the nice subtleties and distinctions with which he would seek to disguise his defeat." M. de Bayssét gives extracts of several letters written by Fenelon, about this time; all of them breathe an amiable spirit of peace and resignation, but, in general, he declined all writing and discourse on the subject, and at an early moment, almost wholly dismissed the controversy from his thoughts.

After what has been seen of the letters of the abbé Phillippeaux and the abbé Bossuet, it will not be surprising, that the former spoke of Fenelon's pastoral letter, as consisting of dry expressions, and vague words; or that the latter should say, "that it was easy

to discover its ambiguity and pride, and impossible to read it without indignation." But, who can read without surprise, that the bishop of Meaux himself, said of it,—“the cabal exalts the letter; disinterested persons think it full of ambiguity and pride;”—or that he should write to his nephew, who continued at Rome, “after all, I think Rome should be satisfied with the archbishop’s letter: it contains the essential, and expresses, however pompously, his submission.” He sent his nephew some remarks on it, but desired him to keep them to himself. The bishop of Chartres thought of it very differently; he wrote to Fenelon, that “he was delighted with his perfect submission: I have no words to express how my heart is affected with your humble and generous action.” The pope addressed a letter to Fenelon, much less kind, and less honourable to him than it would have been if Lewis the fourteenth’s name had not been called in to chill its terms.

With the single exception of the cardinal Cassanaté, a decided partizan of France, all the cardinals desired the abbé de Chantèrac to testify to Fenelon their respect and attachment. With friendly and wise solicitude, they advised him to observe the most rigid silence on the subject, and particularly to avoid further retractations, or explanations; they observed to him, that his act of submission was perfect; that the pope was satisfied with it, and that no one therefore had a right to require more from him on the subject:—“It is impossible,” writes the abbé de Chantèrac to him, “to praise, more than they did, your submission, your pastoral letter, your letters to the pope, the whole of your conduct. Some things they said to me on the subject must be reserved for private conversation.”

It might be expected that the ready and perfect submission of Fenelon would soften the mind of Lewis the

fourteenth; but he persisted in the line of extreme rigour, and Fenelon was to drink the cup of his humiliation to its dregs. The metropolitan prelates of the kingdom were ordered, by the king, to convene their suffragans, and, at an assembly of them, to accept the brief. The cardinal of Noailles, as archbishop of Paris, first assembled his suffragans. The assembly consisted of himself and the bishops of Meaux, Chartres, and Blois. As the three first of them had been the leaders of the attack on Fenelon, decency seemed to require, that some other metropolitan assembly should take the lead; but the court's opinion was known, and zeal was the order of the day. Instead of confining themselves to the acceptance of the brief, the cardinal and his suffragans petitioned the king for a general suppression of all the writings, which Fenelon had published in his defence: in this superfluous display of zeal, seven of the remaining fifteen metropolitan assemblies followed their example.

All the metropolitan assemblies spoke in high terms of Fenelon's piety, virtue, and talents: some of them, among which was the metropolitan assembly of Paris, commended his submission as simple, absolute, and without any restriction. The wording of the declaration of that assembly was entrusted to Bossuet; and he mentions, in a letter to his nephew, that much of it, as he has prepared it, was softened. But, it was among his own suffragans that Fenelon met with the harshest usage. The bishop of Tournay intimated, that Fenelon's pastoral letter did not express an internal acquiescence in the brief of the pope. Fenelon, with mild dignity, repelled the imputation; and the bishops of Arras and St. Omers, his other suffragans, stood up in his support.

The next step of the court was to procure the registration of the brief. This, on account of some want of

formality, was attended with difficulty, but the overpowering influence of Lewis the fourteenth, levelled every obstacle. The brief was presented for registration by the chancellor d'Aguésseau, then first attorney general of his majesty. He pronounced, on that occasion, a discourse, which the president Henault describes, "as an immortal monument of the solidity of the church of France, and an eternal honor to the chancellor's memory." M. d'Aguésseau mentions in it Fenelon's submission in terms of high praise; "no discordant voice troubled the holy concert, the happy harmony of the oracles of the church. What was the joy of the church, when she found that he, among the prelates, whose opposition she would have had most to fear, if his heart had been an accomplice of his understanding, had, more humble and more docile than the lowliest of his flock, anticipated the judgment of the prelates, and, by pronouncing an afflicting but salutary sentence on himself, hastened to encourage the church, frightened at his doctrine, by professing readily and solemnly, a submission without reserve, an obedience without bound, and an acquiescence without a shadow of restriction."

The chancellor informs us, that in his discourse, as he had originally penned it, he had expressed himself in stronger terms, in the praise of Fenelon, but that, when the discourse was read in manuscript to the king, he objected to them.—It is remarkable that the chancellor, who, in every part of his voluminous works, writes with more than roman gravity, appears always to have a smile on his countenance when he mentions quietism: he evidently considered it rather as an intrigue of the court than an affair of religion. *

* The celebrated Leibniz, (*Opera*, Tom. IV. p. 295, and Tom. V. p. 189), remarks that, before the war of words between Bossuet and

After the registration of the pope's brief in parliament, it only remained that a report should be made of the affair to the next assembly of the clergy.

This was intrusted to Bossuet, and he penned this

Fenelon began, the prelates should have agreed on a definition of the word "Love," and that such a definition might have prevented the dispute. To love a person, is, he says, to delight in his happiness. The contemplation of beauty always gives pleasure to an intelligent spectator. God is the most beautiful of spectacles; a person who contemplates him, in a proper disposition of mind, has, in the act of contemplating his beauty, an exquisite sensation of pleasure, he rejoices that God is happy;—in other words he loves God; and thus far his love, though accompanied with an high degree of joy, is perfectly pure and disinterested. But then, he receives pleasure in feeling this sensation of joy, and this pleasure, say the adversaries of pure love, is self-love. Be it so: still, says Leibniz, it had been preceded by a period of pure love.

Besides: this sentiment of self-love, continues Leibniz, does not always take place.—In the contemplation of the perfections of the Deity, both the heart and the mind are often so fixed on the divine object, that the party has no sensible feeling of his own existence. *Non sentio meam allevietatem*, was the expression of a mystified female. Still, it is inaccurate to use these words, if they are supposed to import any thing like an individualization of the soul with the divine essence: for even the most exalted act of divine love shews this alterity of the soul: so that, though the soul do not always feel that, which makes her actually sensible of her separate existence, she always feels that, which proves it.—Such is the system of Leibniz on the subject in dispute between Bossuet and Fenelon. The writer thinks it not improbable, that, if it had been proposed and expounded to the two great antagonists it would have reconciled their differences.

In contending for the existence of pure love, unmixed with self-interest, its advocates appeal to the sentiment of pity, which, as they assert, must proceed, on many occasions, from feelings of unmixed benevolence. A child was drowned in attempting to cross a brook; the mother of the child, in order to prevent the like misfortune to another mother, immediately caused a bridge to be placed over the brook. In this, could self-love have the slightest part? Yes, the advocates for it answer, it entered greatly into the pleasure which the mother derived from the consciousness of the generous feeling, which prompted her to the act. But did not the resolution to build the

report in the language of moderation. "It was justly observed," he says in it, "that the archbishop of Cambray, who had more interest than any other person, in eluding, if it had been possible, the sentence which condemned him, was the first to submit to it; and he expressed his submission by a formal act. We recollect with joy the names of the illustrious bishops whom he imitated on this occasion. Following the example of the king, all the provinces united in praising that submission: and thus it was shown, that all, which it had been found necessary to say against the work, had been spoken without any breach of charity." These expressions of Bossuet, as they apply to Fenelon, are very cold; they are less an eulogy of Fenelon than an artful conclusion, from premises which did not allow it, in favour of the vehemence of conduct, with which Bossuet knew he was generally reproached, and which Fenelon's humble submission tended to place in its worst light.

In speaking of madame de Guyon, Bossuet says,— "As to the abominations, which seemed the necessary consequences of her doctrine, they were wholly out of the question; she herself always mentioned them with horror."—In this solemn and explicit declaration of the innocence of her morals, ended the various charges and insinuations which had been made against madame de Guyon with so much publicity, and with such parade.

Here the affair of quietism ends. At the close of his account of it, M. de Baussét expresses himself in terms, which, if we make some allowance for his fear of saying any thing harsh of Lewis the fourteenth, may be considered a fair representation of the merit and demerit of the general conduct of the principal actors. "All of them," he says, "preserved in it the character of great-

bridge, precede the feeling of its being a generous act? If it did, then say its advocates, there was at least a moment of pure unmixed benevolence;

ness, which posterity has stamped on them. Seduced by his own virtuous mind, Fenelon thought, that the highest degree of virtue, attainable by man, was to unite himself to the divine perfections, by a love of God, free from interest; and he rectified, in the writings which he published in his defence, all that was incorrect or equivocal in the work, which was the subject of dispute.—Bossuet, crowned with triumph and glory, preserved his high rank of Oracle of the gallican church: but Fenelon was blameable for his admiration of the supposed spiritual gifts of a visionary woman, for permitting his admiration of them to prevail over his better reason, and to prevent his surrendering opinions, perhaps less erroneous in themselves, than in the terms in which he expressed them, to the peace of the church. On the other hand, Bossuet was blameable for connecting a mere question of doctrine with a personal charge of the worst kind, against an estimable and amiable adversary.

Having thus assigned to Bossuet and Fenelon, what he considers their due share of praise and blame, M. de Baussét proceeds to his great idol.—Lewis the fourteenth, he says, comes before us in his proper light; he does not pretend to be a judge of doctrine, he does not pretend to dictate to the church, he petitions for a clear decision, and when he receives it, then, as the external bishop, he causes it to be executed according to the canons; and, as sovereign, he causes it to be executed with legal formality.—But, had not Lewis the fourteenth his share of blame? By his severities to Fenelon and his friends, by his marked support of Bossuet, by his pointed instructions to his ambassadors, by his letters, almost menacing, to the pope, did not the external bishop attempt to influence the decision? did he not anticipate the judgment?

On the pope, M. de Baussét is silent:—to the present writer, the pope appears the only actor in the business; whose conduct was perfectly free from blame. The real errors in the work of Fenelon, which was denounced to the pope, would have justified a more severe censure, or rather a censure, expressed in harsher terms, than the pope adopted. To the extreme of severity, the pope was repeatedly urged, (and we have seen in what terms), by the French monarch: but he listened to meekness, and to wisdom, which is always meek. He pronounced a censure, afflicting to Fenelon, but much milder than the king required, or extreme justice warranted. He generously wept over the virtue, the piety, and the talents, the abuse of which he was forced to condemn, and did every thing in his power to heal the wound he was obliged to inflict.

Fenelon's submission, however, made him the hero of the day. "It stands a solitary example in history," says the chancellor d'Aguésseau, "of a controversy upon a point of doctrine, which one single sentence terminated, at the instant, without its reproduction in any other form, and without any attempt to reverse it by power, or to elude it by distinctions.—The glory of it is due to Fenelon."

Some attempts were made to effect a reconciliation between Fenelon and his episcopal antagonists, but such a reconciliation never took place. M. de Baussét, however, informs his readers, that he has discovered vestiges of a friendly correspondence, after the affair of quietism, between Fenelon and the bishop of Chartres; and cites a letter of madame de Maisonfort, which mentions a projected journey of M. de St. André, the confidential grand-vicar of Bossuet, to Cambray, for the purpose of bringing about a reconciliation between Bossuet and Fenelon. It appears that Fenelon uniformly expressed himself of Bossuet with respect, and men-

tioned his talents and the services he had rendered to religion, with admiration.*

* Some time after Bossuet's decease, M. le Dieu, the secretary of Bossuet, whose family resided in the neighbourhood of Cambray, spent, by the desire of Fenelon, a whole day with him, and appears to have been highly pleased with his reception.—He mentions, in a letter to madame de Maisonfort, that, after supper, the conversation turned on the recent death of Bossuet, and that he was asked, whether in his last illness, Bossuet had received the sacraments of the church,—by whom they were administered to him,—who prepared him for death. “I thought within myself,” says the abbé, “that Fenelon, who put the last of these questions to me, recollected at the time, what had passed between them, and supposed that Bossuet stood in need of a stout confessor.”

Without a fuller investigation of the conduct of the contending prelates than the writer has been able to bestow on the subject, it would be presumptuous in him to pretend to assign to them their exact degrees of blame, (for blameable they both were), in their personal hostilities. It seems evident to the writer, that Bossuet had a just, a kind, and a generous mind, and that much of what appeared reprehensible in his conduct towards Fenelon, was owing to the violent councils of the cabal of the duke de Maine, who were jealous of the party attached to the duke of Burgundy, and likely to enjoy his exclusive favour if he should come into power. Of that party, Fenelon was confessedly the head: it was therefore the interest of the cabal to effect his ruin, and unfortunately for Bossuet, they made him, unknown to himself, the instrument of their designs, and thus drew him, by exaggerated representations of the danger of the church from Fenelon's writings, into measures equally repugnant to his natural judgment and feelings. Bossuet left behind him the character of great ignorance in common affairs. Fenelon was allowed to possess great knowledge of men and manners; and, notwithstanding his sublime spirituality, Fenelon had probably a much greater knowledge of the things of this world, than his serious and severe adversary.—Besides; in extenuation of Bossuet's violence, it should never be forgotten, that, in the main object of the controversy, he was perfectly in the right.

“But,” to repeat the writer's words, in his short reference to this controversy, in his *Life of Bossuet*,—“on the failings of such men it is painful to dwell: the best reflection, suggested by them, seems to be that, with which father Boudaloue opens the part of his funeral

It is singular, that at a subsequent time, when Bossuet was worn down with age and infirmity, he applied to Lewis the fourteenth, to nominate his nephew, the abbé Bossuet, of whom such frequent mention has been made in the preceding pages, to be his coadjutor, and of course his successor, in the bishoprick of Meaux, and that he met with an absolute refusal. After the death of the abbé de Phillippeaux, the other agent of Bossuet, a relation of quietism, supposed to be written by him, was published at Paris; and, on the application of some of the family of Fenelon, was declared, by an arrêt du con-

“oration on the prince of Condé, which turns on the failings of his hero.”

“There is not,” says that elegant preacher, “a luminary in the heavens, which does not sometimes suffer an eclipse; and the sun, which is the greatest of them, suffers the greatest and the most remarkable. Two circumstances in them particularly deserve our consideration,—one, that in these eclipses, the sun suffers no substantial loss of light, and preserves its regular course; the other, that, during the time of its eclipse, the universe contemplates it with most interest, and watches its variations with most attention. The hero, whom we lament, had his eclipses: it would be idle to attempt to conceal them, they were as visible as his glory: but he never lost the principles of rectitude, which governed his heart. These preserved him in his wanderings, and restored him to religion and virtue, so greatly to his own honour, and to our benefit.

“The faults of Fenelon and Bossuet, in their unfortunate controversy, are entitled to the same benign consideration. The lustre of their characters attracted universal attention, and made their errors the more observable and the more observed. But the eclipse was temporary, and the golden * flood remained unimpaired.—Those, who are most disposed to be severe, should reflect on this circumstance. On a little self-examination, they will generally find, that, if they themselves be not equally exposed to public censure, it is owing, less to the undeviating rectitude of their conduct than to the happy obscurity of their destinies.”

* To-morrow, he repairs his golden flood,
And cheers the nations with redoubled rays.

GRAY.

cile, to be scandalous and defamatory, and ordered to be publicly burnt.

A question has been made, whether Fenelon was sincere in his retractation. On this point, we have the testimony of the chevalier Ramsay. In a formal conversation, which he had with Fenelon, the chevalier observed to him, that he could not reconcile his condemnation of his book, with his adherence to his avowed opinion of the possible existence of a pure and absolutely disinterested love of God. Fenelon replied, "that in condemning his book, the church had not condemned the pure love of God; that it had only condemned the expressions used by him, in explaining it, and those," he admitted, "were unfit for a dogmatical work. My book," he said to the chevalier, "is good for nothing; it is an abortion of imagination, it is not a work of the heart; I wish you not to read it." The doctrine itself remained dear to Fenelon's till it ceased to beat. He left behind him a voluminous manuscript on the subject, to be delivered to the pope after his decease.

We have seen that madame de Guyon was imprisoned, soon after the dispute on quietism first broke out: a short time after its termination, she was released. She then retired to Blois, where she passed the remainder of her days in retirement and devotion, entirely silent on the events of her life, her principles, and her writings. She died at an advanced age, adored by the poor, and universally esteemed. In every vicissitude of life, she preserved the esteem of the hôtel de Beauvilliers, and her other distinguished friends. A few days before her death she made her will: she prefixed to it a profession of her faith, of the purity of her intentions, and her submission to the church.

To close this account, perhaps too minute, and therefore already too long, of the affair of quietism, it remains

only to mention, the steady affection which all the antient friends of Fenelon, with the single exception of madame de Maintenon, preserved for him during the long continuance of the court's displeasure. Nothing could exceed their attachment to him. He was a bond of union which cemented them together, for many a good and kind purpose. "They took every opportunity," says the duke de St. Simon, "of meeting together; it was their delight to talk of Fenelon, to regret him, to express their wishes for his return to them, to contrive means of seeing him."

But none of them was more warmly or steadily attached to Fenelon than his former pupil, the duke of Burgundy. Lewis the fourteenth enjoined him not to correspond with Fenelon, and spies were placed near each of them to prevent their intercourse. Four years elapsed before there was the slightest communication between them: the duke then contrived to send a letter to Fenelon.—"At length, my dear archbishop," writes the amiable youth, "I have an opportunity of breaking the silence, which for these four years, I have been obliged to keep with you. I have suffered much since we parted; but one of my greatest sufferings has been, not to have it in my power, during all this time, to testify to you how much I felt for you, and to assure you, that my friendship for you has increased with your misfortunes. I shall not say how much I am disgusted with what has been done in your regard." He gives the archbishop an account of his studies; "I think," he says, "that I persist more steadily than I did, in the path of virtue: but pray to God for me, that he will please to strengthen me in my good resolutions, and not suffer me to offend him again." Fenelon's answer is most affectionate; it contains much good advice, expressed in the most affectionate language, but scarcely one word of himself,

or his misfortunes: "My mind," he says in it, "is at rest; my greatest misfortune is not to see you. I would give a thousand lives as a drop of water, to see you what God wishes you to be*."

CHAP. XIII.

TELEMACHUS.

DURING the disputes concerning quietism, a circumstance took place, which increased, and perhaps unalterably fixed the aversion of Lewis the fourteenth to Fenelon:—the publication of *Telemachus*.

It appears to have been composed by Fenelon, while he was preceptor to the royal dukes. Not long after the affair of quietism broke out, Fenelon gave the manuscript of it to a valet de chambre, to be copied by him; and the valet sold it to a bookseller at Paris. The police at that time narrowly watched the motions of Fenelon; they had notice of the publication, and, when the bookseller was at the 208th page of the impression, seized, in the king's name, all the copies which were found in the possession of the bookseller; and every pre-

* Since the publication of the first edition of this work, the writer has seen a publication of the abbé Tabaraud, entitled, "*Lettre à M. de Bausset, ancien évêque d'Alais, pour servir de supplément à son Histoire de Fénelon*," 8vo. Paris, 1809. The object of it, is, to remove the impressions unfavourable to Bossuet, which M. de Bausset's representation of that prelate's conduct towards Fenelon, is likely to produce.—In a second letter, the writer attempts to vindicate the jansenists, against some charges brought against them by M. de Bausset. Both letters show a considerable degree of talent, and contain useful information: but, they have not persuaded the writer, that the conduct of Bossuet, was quite blameless, or the conduct of the jansenists, was not very wrong.

caution was used to annihilate the work. But it was too late; the manuscript was preserved; it was sold to Adrian Moetjens, a bookseller at the Hague, and by him it was immediately printed. This edition appeared in 1699; and is very incorrect. Editions of it were rapidly multiplied; it was translated into every European language, and universally read and admired.

Immediately on its appearance, it was supposed to contain an intentional and pointed satire of Lewis the fourteenth, his court, and his government. Calypso was supposed to be the marchioness of Montespan; Eucharis, mademoiselle de Fontanges; Telemachus, the duke of Burgundy; Mentor, the duke of Beauvilliers; Antiopé, the duchess of Burgundy; Protesilaus, Louvois; Idomeneus, our king James the second; Sesostris, Lewis the fourteenth.

It does not appear, and Fenelon himself always denied, that, in the composition of the work, he intended to pourtray these objects, or intended to lead the attention of his readers to them: but it is easy to suppose, that, as he unavoidably wrote it under a strong impression of what immediately passed under his eye, the work would contain a more striking resemblance of the scenes passing before him, and of the principal actors in them, than it would have discovered, if the author had lived at a distance from them. Admitting, however, that no such individual resemblance was intended, or can be fairly traced in Telemachus, still, it contained enough to excite the monarch's highest displeasure. The disrespectful mention, which is made, in every part of it, of ambition, of extensive conquest, of military fame, of magnificence, and of almost every thing else, which Lewis the fourteenth considered as the glory of his reign, could not but prejudice the monarch against the writer. When he reflected that it was the production of one, on

whom he had conferred splendid marks of his favor, he could not but think the publication an act of ingratitude; when he recollected that the preceptor had probably instilled the principles of the work into the heir of his throne, the preceptor would naturally become an object of personal hatred; and these feelings would be much aggravated by the reception which the work met with, in the countries, whom Lewis the fourteenth viewed as his natural enemies, and who, soon after its first publication, confederated for the destruction of him and his family. He knew their hatred of him, and whatever they cherished, he could not but consider as hostile to him.

In the monarch's general dislike of the work, madame de Maintenon unavoidably shared; and, as Lewis the fourteenth suspected her of a partiality to Fenelon, her interest required that she should take every opportunity of expressing her disapprobation of the author, and that she should be forward in condemning the offending work. This was soon perceived by the courtiers: they quickly saw that Telemachus was never to be mentioned. Fenelon was a member of the French academy: when his successor was received into it, both his successor and the member who presided at that sitting of the academy, pronounced an eulogium of Fenelon, and praised his other works, but neither of them mentioned Telemachus.

After several editions of Telemachus had been printed, on the model of the edition of 1699, Moetjens himself gave a more perfect edition of it in 1701; and that edition was generally followed, in all subsequent editions, till the edition of 1717. In that year, the marquis of Fenelon, great nephew to the archbishop, published a new edition of Telemachus, from a copy corrected by Fenelon himself. With the leave of the regent, the marquis dedicated this edition to Lewis the fifteenth, who

was then in his eighth year. This edition became the *textus receptus*, or the model, from which all subsequent impressions of *Telemachus* have been taken.

As a composition, *Telemachus* has perhaps received its full measure of praise. It is eminently defective in unity of design, abounds with unnecessary details, is often prosaic; its moral is oftener taught by long discourses, than by action, the proper vehicle of moral in an epic poem; and it contains more of profane love, than might be expected from a man of prayer, always writing at the foot of the cross; but it abounds with passages of exquisite beauty, and contains some of true sublimity. A soft tinge of poetic, and, it may be said, of religious melancholy is shed over the whole, which seems to elevate it to real poetry, gives it an indescribable charm, and interests the reader, both for the author and his hero. We find, by M. de Baussét, that Mentor's apology to *Telemachus*, for the faults of kings, was inserted in the manuscript, long after the first edition of the work, and consequently long after,

"The haughty Bourbon's unrelenting hate—"

DRYDEN.

had sealed the author's doom.

CHAP. XIV.

FENELON'S OTHER LITERARY WORKS AND GENERAL LITERARY CHARACTER.

THE mention of *Telemachus*, naturally leads to some account of the other works of Fenelon, and a general view of his literary character.

All his writings show much grandeur and delicacy of sentiment, great fertility of genius, a correct taste, and

exquisite sensibility. The poetical character appears in them all; but generally, it is poetry, descended from the heavens, to converse familiarly with man, and lead him, by her sweetest and simplest strains, to virtue and happiness. By assiduous study, the works of the best writers of antiquity became familiar to him; he imbibed their spirit; and his intimate acquaintance with their writings, was his resource in every vicissitude in life; his ornament in prosperity, his comfort in adverse fortune: and, in the memorable contest we have mentioned, in which every thing dear to him was involved, the charm which it spread over his writings, enabled him to divide the world in his favor, against his mighty adversary, and his royal aid.

He appears to have formed himself more on the Greek than the Roman writers. All the approved authors of antiquity are far removed from the extremes of simplicity and refinement; but the Greek, by their greater simplicity, have an evident advantage over the Roman. The writings of Fenelon, when quietism did not entangle him in its refinements, are distinguished by simplicity both of sentiment and expression. Without appearing to be measured, his periods are mellifluous, and, by a profusion, sometimes perhaps carried to excess, of the little connective words, which the French language possesses much more than the English; but in no proportion to the Greek, each of his sentences always leads to the following, and harmonises with it both in sense and sound. His *Telemachus*, and his replies to Bossuet, contain many passages of great splendor and pathos; but their greatest beauty is their tender simplicity. This attached every reader to him, and gave Bossuet those sleepless nights which he ingenuously owned. The greatest fault of his writings is, that they

abound with what, in music, is called *rosalia*, a repetition of the same idea in the next higher notes.

After *Telemachus*, the principal literary work of Fenelon is, his *Dialogues sur l'Eloquence en general, et sur celle de la chaire en particulier*, published after his death. The chief aim of it is to show, that the real object of eloquence, is to excite in the auditors, virtuous and noble sentiments, and to impel them to generous and virtuous deeds; and that, when eloquence falls short of this, it fails of its end. He particularly applies this observation to the eloquence of the pulpit: we shall present the reader with a general view of what he says on this subject, when we shall have occasion to mention his own sermons.

On popular oratory he observes, that the first thing to be required of a public speaker is, that he should be a virtuous man: this, he pronounces to be indispensable to the success of his eloquence. He asks, "how is a mercenary and ambitious orator to cure his country of corruption and ambition? If riches are his aim, how is he to correct the venality of his countrymen? I know," says Fenelon, "that a virtuous and disinterested orator should not be permitted to want the necessaries of life; but let him put himself in the way of not wanting them; let his manners be simple, unpretending, frugal and laborious: if it be necessary to his independence, let him work with his own hands, for his subsistence. The public may confer honours on him, may invest him with authority: but, if he is master of his passions, if he is really disinterested, he will never make any use of his authority for his private advantage; he will always be ready to resign it, when he cannot preserve it without dissimulation or flattery. To persuade the people, an orator should be incorruptible; his eloquence and talents will

otherwise ruin the state. Where a man has his fortune in view, he must please every one, and manage every one; how is such a man to obtain an ascendant over his countrymen? Does he seek riches, let him embrace some of the professions by which riches are acquired: but, let him not make his speeches in the public cause, the means of acquiring them."

Fenelon observes of Cicero, "that the speeches which he made, while he was young, rather amuse the mind than move the heart;" that, he seems rather occupied by a wish of exciting admiration, than by his client's cause; yet that even in the most flowery of these harangues, he shows great talents of persuasion and of moving the passions. But it is in the harangues which he made in the cause of the republic, when he was advanced in life, that he appears to advantage. Then, experience in affairs of magnitude, the love of liberty, and the view of the dangers which surrounded him, raised him to efforts worthy of a great orator. When he is to support the cause of dying liberty, to animate the republic against Anthony, you have no longer a play of words, no longer an antithesis; then, he is negligent; he finds in nature, all that is wanting to seize, to animate, to carry off his hearers.

Of antithesis, the bane of modern writings, Fenelon says:—"I do not absolutely proscribe antithesis; when the things to be expressed are naturally opposed to each other, it is proper to mark their opposition. There, antithesis is the natural and simple form of expression; but to go out of the way to form batteries of words is childish."

In the same work, Fenelon observes, that, "to a perfect intelligence of the sacred writings, some previous acquaintance with the works of Homer, Plato, Xenophon, and other celebrated writers of antiquity, is absolutely necessary. After this, the scripture," he says

"will no longer surprise." The same customs, the same mode of narrative, the same splendid imagery, the same pathetic touches are found in each. Where they differ, the advantage is wholly on the side of the scripture; it infinitely surpasses all the writers of antiquity in simplicity, the sublimity of the canticles of Moses; of that canticle in spirit, in grandeur. Homer himself never approaches in particula; which all the children of Israel were obliged to learn by heart. No Greek or Latin poetry is comparable to the psalms. That, which begins, "The God of Gods, the Lord hath spoken, and hath called up the earth," exceeds whatever human imagination has produced. Neither Homer, nor any other poet, equals Isaiah, in describing the majesty of God, in whose presence empires are as a grain of sand, the whole universe as a tent, which, to day is set up, and removed to-morrow. Sometimes, as when he paints the charms of peace, Isaiah has the softness and sweetness of an eclogue; at others, he soars above mortal conception. But, what is there in profane antiquity, comparable to the wailings of Jeremy when he mourns over the calamities of his people? or to Nahum, when he foresees, in spirit, the downfall of Nineveh, under the assault of an innumerable army? We almost behold the formidable host, and hear the arms and the chariots.—Read Daniel, denouncing to Balthazar, the vengeance of God, ready to fall upon him; compare it with the most sublime passages of pagan antiquity; you find nothing comparable to it. It must be added that, in the scriptures, every thing sustains itself; whether we consider the historical, the legal, or the poetical part of it, the proper character appears in all.

On the writings of the antient fathers, he has the following judicious observations. "Some well informed persons have not always done to the fathers the justice due to them. They seem to have formed their opinion

of them by a harsh metaphor of Tertullian, a swollen period of St. Cyprian, an obscure passage of St. Ambrose, a subtle jingling antithesis of St. Augustin, or a quibble of St. Peter Chrysologus. But we ought to consider how much the fathers were necessarily influenced by the taste, generally depraved, of the times, in which they lived. Good taste began to decay at Rome, soon after the Augustan æra. Juvenal possesses less delicacy than Horace; both Seneca the tragic writer, and Lucan, have a disagreeable and turgid style. In Greece, attic literature had fallen into neglect, before St. Paul or St. Gregory Nazianzen wrote. A kind of minute scholastic subtlety had taken place of sound taste and judgment. The fathers were educated by the wrangling rhetoricians of their times, and naturally fell into the general manner: yet they seem continually to struggle against it. To speak in a simple and natural manner was then generally esteemed a fault: declamation, not eloquence, was the leading object. But if we bestow on the writings of the fathers a patient and impartial perusal, we shall discover in them pearls of inestimable value. St. Cyprian possesses a greatness of spirit, and a vehemence, resembling those of Demosthenes. We find in St. Chrysostom an exquisite judgment, noble images, a feeling and amiable morality. St. Augustine is at once sublime and popular; he rises into dignity, by the most simple expressions. He converses, he interrogates, he answers. It is a conversation between him and his hearers; his similes, generally introduced very opportunely, throw light on his subject. He sometimes descends to the coarseness of the populace, but it is to reform them, and he leads them by it to what is right. St. Bernard was a prodigy, in a barbarous age. We find in him delicacy, elevation, sentiment, tenderness, and vehemence. We shall be asto-

nished at the beauty and grandeur which we meet in the fathers, if we take into consideration the times in which they wrote. We readily pardon the pompous diction of Montaigne, the obsolete diction of Marot; why not show the same indulgence to the fathers? Why not ascribe their defects to the defects of the times in which they lived?"

The *letters* of Fenelon have been generally admired; they appear to have been chiefly written on the impulse of the moment, without study, and without the least view to publication. The greater part of them are on subjects of piety: but many of them are addressed to persons in public situations, or engaged in the ordinary affairs of life, and abound with profound and delicate observations. "What you have most to fear," he writes to a young nobleman, "is idleness and dissipation.—Idleness is as prejudicial in the world, as it is criminal before God. A soft and indolent man, must always be a poor creature. If he is placed in any considerable situation, he is sure to disgrace it. If he has the most brilliant talents, idleness prevents his making any use of them. He cannot cultivate them, or acquire the information wanted for the proper discharge of his duties, or make necessary exertions, or accommodate himself, for any length of time, to those, whom it is his duty or his interest to conciliate. What can be done for such a man? Business wearies him, serious reading fatigues him, military duty interrupts his pleasures, attendance at court is irksome to him.—Pride alone should make such a being insupportable to himself.

"Do you beware of this wretched existence. At court, with the king, in the army, among the generals, wherever you may be, exert yourself to behave with civility. Endeavour to acquire that politeness, which shows a respectful deference to every one. No airs of

dignity, no affectation, no bustle ; learn to behave to every one according to his rank, his reputation, his merit, and his credit. Give to merit, esteem ; to talents, when virtue and confidence accompany them, confidence and attachment ; to rank, civility and ceremony. On days of general representation, speak to every one, but enter into particular conversation with none. Bad company is always disgraceful ; it is ruinous to a young man, who has not yet an established character. It is excusable to see few persons, but nothing excuses your seeing a single person of a blasted reputation. Show such persons no indignity, but keep them at a great distance.

“ A seclusion from the world to indulge in idleness is dishonorable ; but a retirement, employed in acts of duty or professional exertions, acquires general esteem.

“ As to general acquaintance, consider them as a kind of imperfect friends, upon whom you should not rely ; and whom, except from urgent necessity, you should never trust ; but you should serve them, as opportunity offers, and endeavour to lay them under obligations to you. Among these persons, you are not to look for perfect characters ; be most connected with such among them, as are most worthy.

“ As to true friends, chuse them with great care ; but their number must be small. Have no friend, who does not fear God, who is not wholly governed by the truths of religion. They should be a little older than yourself. To friends like those, open your heart without reserve ; and keep nothing secret from them, except the secrets of others.”

Soon after Fenelon was appointed preceptor of the royal princes, he was elected a member of the French academy. Conformably to an established rule of that institution, he pronounced a discourse before the academy on his reception. Few of the discourses pro-

nounced on these occasions, have survived the day on which they were delivered. Fenelon's was generally admired; the authors of the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, (vol. 19. p. 54,) mentions it, in terms of great commendation. In one part of it, Fenelon illustrates, by an ingenious comparison, what should be a great object of every writer in the general ordonnance of his work: "the beauties of a literary composition," he says, "should resemble those of architecture; the boldest works are not always the best. No part of an edifice should be constructed with a view to its own particular beauty; each should be constructed with a view to the strength and beauty of the whole."

When the academy projected their dictionary, they directed M. Dacier, their secretary, to communicate the plan of it to Fenelon, and to request his thoughts on the design, and the best mode of carrying it into execution. Fenelon replied by a letter, published after his decease, with the title, *Lettre à l'Académie Française*. He does not confine himself to the particular point to which his attention was called by the academy, but throws out many general observations, replete with judgment and taste, on the actual state of literature in France. His remarks on French poetry are interesting, and show, that in a very advanced age, for they were not written till a very late period of his life, his soul was still wedded to immortal verse. He admits the imperfection of the heroic poetry of his countrymen.

"Our versification," he says in this letter, "loses, if I am not deceived, much more than it gains by rhyme. It loses by it, much of its vivacity, its ease, and its harmony. It frequently happens, that the rhyme, which has cost the poet so much labour, reduces him to the necessity of extending and weakening his period. He is often forced to employ two or three superfluous verses.

for the sake of one which he particularly wishes to introduce. We are scrupulous in the choice of rhymes, and anxiously seek for those, which are thought to be rich, but we are not as scrupulous as we should be about solidity of thought and sentiment, clearness of expression, natural arrangement, and real dignity of language. By rhyme, we gain little except an irksome uniformity of cadence, which is so far from being grateful to the ear, that we carefully avoid it in prose. The repetition of final syllables fatigues us in heroic verses. There is more harmony in those odes and stanzas, in which the rhymes are irregularly arranged; but our grand heroic strains, which require the most harmonious, the most varied, and the most majestic sound, frequently consist of verses which have no pretence to perfection."

Fenelon's other works principally relate to religious subjects; a considerable portion of them are of a polemic nature, on the subject of the jansenistical controversy, in which, in his latter years, he took an active part. His *Treatise on the Existence of God*, was addressed, in a course of letters, to the duke of Orleans, the celebrated regent. M. de Baussét shows, that a work, entitled, *Lives of the Philosophers*, often published with his name, is unjustly ascribed to Fenelon.

CHAP. XV.

FENELON IN HIS DIOCESE.

WHEN Fenelon was nominated to the see of Cambray, every motive of interest and ambition must have prompted him, (in opposition to the canons which called him to his diocese,) to make the court his habitual resi-

dence, and must have allured him to it by very specious reasons. In the opinion of the public, and even in his own conscience, if it were usually pliable, such a resolution would require no other apology, than his office of preceptor to the young princes. It would naturally suggest to him, that personal attendance on them was his first obligation.

But Fenelon considered residence in his diocese too sacred a duty to be neglected; and therefore, before he acquiesced in his nomination, he stipulated, that his office should, on no account, prevent his residing with his flock, during nine months of every year. The royal mandate now made his constant residence among them a matter of necessity; and probably, except so far as it separated him from his friends, he found the compliance with it, no great mortification.

A letter written by him to the duke of Beauvilliers, gives a pleasing view of the situation of his mind, soon after he was settled among his flock. "I work," he says, in it, "softly and gently, and endeavour, as much as I can, to put myself in the way of being useful to my flock. They begin to love me, I endeavour to make them find me easy of access, uniform in my conduct, and without haughtiness, rigour, interest, or artifice: they appear already to have some confidence in me; and let me assure you, that even these good Fleminders, with their homely appearance, have more finesse than I wish to put into my conduct towards them. They enquire of one another, whether I really am banished; and they question my servants about it; if they put the question to me, I shall make no mystery of it. It certainly is an affliction to me to be separated from you, and the good duchess, and my other friends; but, from the general scene, I am happy to be at a distance, and sing the canticle of deliverance."

From the recent occurrences of Fenelon's life, it might be natural to expect, that, in the administration of his diocese, he would err by excess of zeal; but, from that defect, no one was ever more free. To do the kind and common thing while conscience allowed it, to abstain from unnecessary acts of authority, to avoid every display of talent or virtue, to remove by meekness and moderation what was blameable, to improve, with prudence and sobriety, what was good, and always to keep himself and his own exertions from the public eye, was the uniform tenor of his conduct. During the fifteen years, in which he governed his diocese, his administration of it was uniformly wise and meek; between him and his flock, his chapter, or his clergy, there never was an appearance of discord. Though, by his indefatigable zeal, he soon made the district committed to his charge, the model of a well-regulated diocese, his biographers do not record of him, a single instance of what are generally called acts of vigour, or a single instance of gaudy virtue. The peace of heaven was with him, and was communicated by him to all his flock.

He allowed himself a short time for sleep, rose at a very early hour, gave some time to prayer and pious meditation, and then arranged with one of his grand-vicars, the employments of the day. Except on Saturdays, or on festivals particularly celebrated in some church of his diocese, when he officiated there, he said mass every day in his private chapel; on Saturdays, he said it in his metropolitan church; and, during the rest of that morning heard indiscriminately, the confessions of all who presented themselves. Till nine o'clock, he was visible to those only who attended him by appointment; after that hour, till he dined, his doors were open to all persons who professed to have real business with him. At noon, he dined; his table was suitable to his

rank, but he himself was extremely abstemious, eating only the simplest and lightest food, and of that, sparingly. All his chaplains were admitted to his table : it was his general rule to show them the greatest respect ; if he sent them into the country, on any business of his diocese, it was always in one of his own carriages, and with one of his own attendants, that the respect which he shewed them, might conciliate to them the general respect of his flock. Both before and after dinner, he himself said grace with seriousness, but without affectation : the reader will hear with pleasure that his tried friend, the virtuous and faithful abbé de Chantérac, was always placed next him, on his left hand. During dinner, the conversation was general, and strangers were struck equally, with its ease and politeness. After dinner, all the company retired to a large apartment, for about an hour ; there, the same stile of conversation was continued, but a small table was sometimes placed before Fenelon, on which he signed his name to papers which required immediate dispatch, and he sometimes took that opportunity of giving directions to his chaplains, on the affairs of his diocese. An hour was spent in this manner, after which, unless he was prevented by urgent business or necessary visits, he lived to himself till nine o'clock, then he supped, and at ten, the whole of his household assembled : one of his chaplains said night-prayers ; at the end of them, the archbishop rose, and gave his general blessing to the assembly.

The only recreation of Fenelon was to walk in his garden or in the open country. His letters, like those of Cicero, often express the satisfaction which he felt in retiring, after the agitation and hurry of business, to the simple and interesting scenes of nature. By their stillness and calm, any ruffle of the day was quickly smoothed, and his mind, wearied by study or business,

soon recovered its freshness and elasticity. There too, his piety was often invigorated. "The country," he says in one of his letters, "delights me. In the midst of it, I find God's holy peace. O what excellent company is God! with him one never is alone."—In his country walks with his friends, his conversation was particularly instructive and pleasing: this circumstance is frequently mentioned by his contemporaries. "No person," says the duke de St. Simon, "ever possessed in a higher degree than Fenelon, the happy talent of easy, light, and ever decent conversation; it was perfectly enchanting; his mild uniform piety troubled no one, and was respected by all. No one felt his superiority; every one found him on his own level. If you quitted him for a moment, you instantly ran back to him." He often joined the peasants, sat down on the grass with them, talked to them, comforted them, went into their cottages, placed himself at table with their families, and partook of their meals.

In the midst of the vexations of Fenelon, during the disputes on quietism, a fire burned to the ground the archiepiscopal palace at Cambray, and consumed all his books and writings. He bore his misfortune with great resignation. As soon as the abbé de Langeron was informed of it, he hastened to apprise Fenelon of it, and found him conversing with his friends, so much at ease, that he concluded he was ignorant of it, and began with much preparation, to apprise him of it. Fenelon interrupted the abbé; he told him that he was informed of his loss, and remarked to him, that "it was better that his palace should be burnt to the ground, than the cottage of a peasant." At his own expense, he rebuilt the palace, and furnished it in a suitable style of magnificence; but he did not allow the arms of his family to be fixed or painted on any part of it: he probably re-

collected how severely, in his dialogues, he had censured the cardinal de Richelieu, for almost covering the Sorbonne with his arms.

An early care of Fenelon, after his settlement in his diocese, was to establish a seminary for completing the education of such of his flock as were intended for the church. He always presided at the examination of those who presented themselves to take orders. These examinations were conducted with such a happy mixture of ease and solemnity, that none ventured to present themselves for ordination, who had not gone through a serious course of previous study, while all were sufficiently at ease to discover, by their behaviour, their real dispositions and talents. This was so well arranged, that in Fenelon's time, no priest was ordained, who, previously to his ordination, had not been five times examined by Fenelon himself. It was Fenelon's wish to put his seminary under the direction of his beloved sulpiciens, and he intimated his wish to M. Tronson their superior; but fearful of involving his friends in his own disgrace, he avoided pressing it on him.

Twice a week during the lent, he preached in some parish church of his diocese; on solemn festivals, he preached in his metropolitan church; in his visitations of his diocese, he always made a familiar discourse, in the church of the parish which he visited; so that, in his large diocese, there was not a single parish church, in which he had not preached more than once. It was his opinion that, in general, sermons were not sufficiently instructive. "The people," he says, in his dialogues on the eloquence of the pulpit, "hear continually of the scripture of the church, of the two laws, of the priesthood of Moses, Aaron, Melchisedeck, and of the prophets and apostles; but little pains are taken to

inform them from the pulpit, what all this means, or what these persons have done. A preacher should explain to the people regularly and in great detail, the gospels, the mysteries, the origin and institution of the sacraments, the traditions, the discipline, the offices, and the ceremonies of the church.—Such instructions will strengthen their faith, give them a just notion of religion, and, by degrees, enable them to profit of all they see or hear in their churches. Sermons should be short, but frequent, and the same sermon should be often repeated.”

He disliked the divisions and subdivisions of sermons. “These,” he says, “were unknown to the fathers. St. Bernard, the last in time of the fathers, often remarks the natural division of his subject, but does not observe it in his sermons.”

Fenelon declares against the practice of committing sermons to writing, and then learning them by heart. “Consider,” he says, “the advantage of speaking without minute preparation. The preacher possesses himself; he expresses himself naturally, his words flow immediately from his own sources; his expressions, (if he has a natural talent for eloquence), are lively and moving. The warmth of the moment suggests to him expressions and images, which would not have occurred to him, in his cabinet. His action is natural, and has no appearance of art.—Above all, a preacher, who has learned by experience to discern the effect of his oratory on his audience, observes what fixes their attention, what makes an impression on them, where he fails. He sees, where the imagery should be bolder, the principles more fully expressed, the conclusions more distinctly or forcibly pointed. In all these particulars, how generally must a preacher fail, who learns his sermons by heart! Such a preacher dares not say a word more than is in

his lesson ; his style inevitably smells of its labour ; his compositions, as was said of those of Isocrates, are better read than heard. In spite of all his care, there is a monotony, a something forced, in the inflections of his voice. He is not so much a man who speaks, as an orator who recites ; his action is confined, his look shows his dependence on his memory, he dares not abandon himself to the feelings of the moment, lest the thread of his discourse should slip from him. The hearer perceives the mechanism of the exhibition, and remains unmoved." In support of his opinion, Fenelon cites St. Augustine, who declares, that "those preachers, who speak their discourses word for word, as they have written them down, cannot repeat and enforce a truth till they perceive that it is perfectly understood ; and thus deprive themselves of one of the most powerful means of instruction." Still, Fenelon admitted a considerable degree of preparation : he presupposes, that the preacher has seriously meditated his subject ; and, (what certainly is taking much for granted), that the speaker has a natural gift of extemporaneous oratory.

As the subject is interesting, we have given Fenelon's sentiments upon it at length : yet perhaps, it is a mere question of words. If an unprepared and a prepared sermon be equal in other respects, the former, being the most natural, must necessarily have a great advantage over the latter : but it must be taken into consideration, that the gift of unpremeditated eloquence is very rare. On the general question, therefore, as leading to practical inference, we must weigh the advantages of extempore eloquence, against the small number of those, on whom the gift of it is generally conferred ; and viewing it in this light, we shall be tempted to conclude, that the number of those to whom extempore predication should be recommended, is very small.

This leads to the further enquiry,—which is best, that sermons should be read, or, that they should be spoken by heart. On this point, great authorities differ. It is remarkable, that Bourdaloue, who had no action, and spoke, though distinctly, very rapidly, with his eyes almost closed, and with little inflection of voice, was a decided advocate for the sermon's being prepared with great attention, learned by heart, and exactly spoken as it was committed to paper: while Massillon, whose action was both elegant and vehement, and father de la Rue, more celebrated for action than any other preacher in France, maintained the contrary opinion. Father Segaud, (himself a preacher of eminence), thought Fenelon's sermons were evidently the worse for their want of preparation; he admitted that they contained splendid and beautiful passages, but thought the effect of them was destroyed by the weakness of others. Father Segaud, however, listened to Fenelon with the cool attention of a critic: the flock of Fenelon heard him with other ears: to them, he was the good shepherd, who knew his flock; whom his flock knew, and whose voice they loved.

We have already had occasion to mention the attachment of Fenelon's friends to him; M. de Baussét relates many facts, and presents us with extracts of many letters of Fenelon, which show his attachment to them, the warm interest which he took in their concerns, and his great anxiety that the displeasure of the court, under which he laboured, should not be extended to them. To every part of his own family, he was uniformly kind. The extracts of his letters to them, which M. de Baussét has published, are equally replete with religion and good sense. It was natural that his relations should feel, very strongly, the harsh treatment, which Fenelon received from the court, that

it should wound their feelings, and sour them against society in general. Fenelon soothes their resentments, and gives them excellent advice. In a letter to the marquis de Fenelon, one of his great nephews, he says, "If you can find a sensible friend, one who really possesses the fear of God, endeavour to alleviate your mortifications, by opening yourself to him, as far as it is prudent: but be assured, that God is the true friend of the heart, and that there is no comforter like him.—No one so well understands, or so kindly enters into the afflictions of those who have recourse to him; no one accommodates himself so much to their wants."

In another letter, he says, "you must be persuaded of the pleasure it would give me to have you constantly about me, but your duty calls you to Versailles: you should become acquainted with its inhabitants, and they with you. While even my shadow continues on earth, I wish it to be useful to you; but I am old and at a distance, and our family has now no other help or hope, than what it can derive from your success in the world.—God forbid that I should make you an ambitious man! But without being indiscreet or obtrusive, you should put yourself in the way of persons in power, and cultivate all fair opportunities of attracting their good will. Sometimes idleness, sometimes timidity, sometimes a love of ease, assumes an appearance of modesty, and makes a person retire from commerce with the great, when in fact it is mere idleness, or timidity, or a refined self-love, which induces him to prefer the company of a few persons with whom he is at ease, and whom he sees pleased with his society. But this is wrong;—it is proper to despise the world; but it is also proper to make it subservient to one's laudable views: it is proper to be detached from it from motives of religion, but there is no merit in abandoning it from sloth and caprice. Attend

to it, so far as it is your duty; but do not love it from motives of ambition; neither neglect it from idleness, nor follow it from vanity." The marquis de Fenelon, to whom this letter was written, appears to have profited by the advice it contained; he served with distinction in the army, and was appointed ambassador to Holland, in which situation his conduct gave great satisfaction. Many of Fenelon's other relations were happy imitators of his virtues. The abbé de Fenelon may be particularly mentioned. After a length of years, uniformly devoted to religion and virtue, he retired to Paris, and spent the remainder of his life in endeavouring to procure a religious and moral education for the poor Savoyard boys, with whom, under the antient government, Paris abounded. Allowing himself no more than was necessary for his mere subsistence, he contrived, with the remaining part of his income, and, with the contributions, which he raised upon his friends, to accomplish this edifying work.—The horrors of the revolution forced him from it, and he retired to the delightful solitude of the Mont St. Valerien. He was pursued to his retreat, and conveyed to the prison of the Luxembourg; he was then in his eightieth year.—When this became public, all the little Savoyard boys assembled, and went in a body to the national assembly: they loudly petitioned the assembly for his liberty: and offered, that any number of them should be constituted prisoners in his stead, as hostages for his good conduct. This, for a time, delayed his fate: but a day was at length fixed for his execution. One of the poor Savoyards, whom the abbé had instructed and assisted, was, at this time, turnkey of the prison of the Luxembourg. Perceiving his benefactor among the victims led out to execution, he sprang forward, and in a state of distraction, strained him in his embrace, and cried aloud,

"My father! my father! are you then going to die! You, whose life has been an uniform act of goodness!"

"Be comforted," the abbé said to him, "death is not an evil to him, who can no longer do good. My dear child, your sensibility at this moment, comforts my heart. Farewell, my friend! farewell, Joseph! think sometimes upon me."—"Alas!" answered the poor Savoyard, "I shall never forget you." The abbé ascended the fatal cart, with sixty-eight other victims. He exhorted them, during the whole way, to sorrow for their sins, to confide in God, and to offer up to him, with resignation, the sacrifice of their lives. Having arrived at the guillotine, he once more addressed them: he exhorted them to join him, with all their hearts, in an act of repentance for their sins: all of them humbly inclined their heads: he pronounced over them the words of absolution; and continued to suggest to them sentiments of religion, till it was his turn to submit to the instrument of death.

Notwithstanding the disgrace of Fenelon at court, his virtues attracted the friendship of many respectable persons; among them, his first biographer, the chevalier Ramsay, deserves particular notice. It has been mentioned, that he was preceptor of the grandchildren of our James the second, and that he spent several years in the family of Fenelon. He afterwards obtained leave to return to England, and presented himself to receive an honorary degree of doctor of laws, at the university of Oxford. On the day of his installation, two members of the university opposed his election, on the ground of his former connection with the princes of the Stuart family, and his religious principles. The celebrated doctor King advocated his cause. Artfully passing over his connections and religion, he mentioned, with due praise, his writings, and observed that they breathed the purest principles of religion and virtue: then, ad-

dressing himself to the audience, he told them, he had the honour to present to them the disciple of the great Fenelon; and that title, he said, answered for every thing. This address almost entirely disarmed the opposition; upon a division, the chevalier was elected by a majority of eighty-five voices to seventeen.

In the disputes on the subject of jansenism, Fenelon appeared several times in print, against the disciples of Jansenius: but, though he combatted their errors, he left them in quiet. The duke de St. Simon observes, that throughout the whole diocese of Cambray, the jansenists were unmolested by the archbishop, and gave him no trouble. At this time the head of the jansenists was father Quésnell, an oratorian. In answer to a letter, which he received from the father, Fenelon writes to him as follows: "I thank you from the bottom of my heart, for all your civilities. Though I have never had an opportunity of seeing you, or had any correspondence with you, I recollect with pleasure, the desire you expressed, some years since, of paying me a visit at Cambray. I wish you would now put this design in execution. I should receive such a mark of your confidence with the most religious fidelity, and the most sincere attention. I should make it a point never to introduce into our conversation, those subjects on which we differ, except it should be perfectly agreeable to yourself. Yet, with your permission to mention them, I should hope to show you, with the book in hand, how much they, who profess themselves the disciples of St. Augustin, are opposed to his real doctrine. If we could not bring ourselves to agree upon the points in question, we might, however, give an example of a dispute, carried on without any breach of charity." This appears to be the true language of religion. These amiable overtures of peace to father Quésnell, were the more worthy

of praise, as Fenelon considered the jansenists as dangerous enemies of the church. In a letter to the duke de Beauvilliers, he says, "as to the provincial letters of Pascal, I think the prince should read them: in fact, sooner or later he will read them. His curiosity, his taste for entertaining books, and the great reputation of the letters, will not suffer him to remain long in ignorance of them. But I wish all possible precautions should be taken, that he should know what measure of truth they contain, and not be seduced by the appearance of truth, which these letters wear. Part of the memorial, which I send you, furnishes an antidote against the two first letters of Pascal. It is more than sufficient to show the hidden poison of the letters, and to prove that, in her censures of jansenism, the church does not combat a phantom."

Still it is among his flock, that Fenelon appears to most advantage; he was in every sense of the word, their father. His establishment and stile of living, were suitable to his public situation; but far beneath the scale of expense and show, which even good men would have thought justifiable. This left him an ample income, but it sunk under his acts of beneficence. His principal attention was directed towards the labouring peasantry; he appears to have felt strongly the hardship of their lot. A curate complained to him, that, after the evening service of Sunday, his parishioners, in spite of his remonstrances, would dance; "My dear friend," replied Fenelon, "neither you nor I should dance; but let us leave these poor people to dance as they please; their hours of happiness are not too numerous."

During the contest for the Spanish succession, the diocese of Cambray was often the theatre of war, and of course experienced the cruel ravages of advancing and retreating armies. Under these circumstances,

Fenelon frequently made visitations of every part of his diocese: and all the writers of his life mention a singular mark of homage, which was shown, on those occasions, to his eminent virtue. "From their high respect for his character," says M. de Baussét, "from their general admiration of Telemachus, and possibly from a secret wish of revenging the archbishop of Cambray, against the injustice of Lewis the fourteenth, the hostile armies permitted Fenelon to visit every part of his diocese. The English, Germans, and Dutch, rivalled the inhabitants of Cambray in veneration for the archbishop. All distinctions of religion and sect, all feelings of hatred or jealousy, which divide nations, disappeared in his presence. He was often obliged to have recourse to artifice to avoid the honours, which the armies of the enemy intended him. He refused the military escorts which were offered him, for his personal security, in the exercise of his functions; and, without any other attendant, than a few ecclesiastics, he traversed the countries desolated by war. His way was marked by his alms and benefactions, and by the suspense of the calamities which armies bring. In these short intervals, the people breathed in peace, so that his pastoral visits might be termed the truce of God."

In one of those visits he met a peasant, still young, but plunged in the deepest affliction. He had recently lost a cow, the only support of his indigent family. Fenelon attempted to comfort him, and by giving him money to buy another, alleviated his sorrow; still, he had lost his own cow, and the tear continued to fall. Pursuing his journey, Fenelon found the very cow, which was the object of so much affliction; and, like the good shepherd, he himself drove it back before him, in a dark night, to the young man's cottage. "This," says the cardinal de Maury, "is perhaps the finest trait

in Fenelon's life. Woe to those who read it without being affected!"

"The virtues of Fenelon," continues the cardinal, "give his history something of the air of romance: but his name will never die. To this moment, the Flemishers bless his memory, and call him the good archbishop."

CHAP. XVI.

THE LATTER YEARS OF THE LIFE OF FENELON: HIS DEATH IN 1715.

YEAR after year, Fenelon continued in this noiseless tenor of well-regulated, and edifying virtue, beloved and revered by his whole diocese, and by every person, to whom his wise and exemplary conduct was known. Still, the indignation of his royal master against him continued unabated: the court was shut against his relations; his friends, with the exception of the duke of Beauvilliers, and the duke of Chevreuse, were discountenanced, and it was generally understood that the name of Fenelon was never to be pronounced at Versailles. But nothing could weaken the duke of Burgundy's attachment to him. The preceptor and the royal pupil corresponded frequently, and when, in 1702, Lewis the fourteenth gave the duke of Burgundy the command of the army in Flanders, the duke petitioned him, with great earnestness, that he might be allowed, in his passage to the army, to see Fenelon; the monarch consented, with an express condition, that their interview should be public. The duke apprized Fenelon of the circumstance by an affectionate letter. When the courier who carried the letter to him arrived at

Cambray, Fenelon had left it, from a motive of delicacy, not to put himself, unasked, in the way of the duke. They met at a public dinner, at the town-house of Cambray; it was evident that they were observed, and every thing passed in great ceremony. Once or twice, Fenelon said something to enliven the conversation, but it did not succeed. According to etiquette, he presented the duke, at the end of dinner, with a napkin to wipe his hands: the duke received it, returned it to him; then raising his voice, loud enough to be heard by all persons present, said to him, "I am sensible, my lord archbishop, what I owe to you, and you know what I am." They met once more; but letters passed frequently between them. Nothing can be more affectionate than the letters which the duke wrote to Fenelon. "My love of virtue," he writes in one of them, "continues, and I think, gains strength; but I have many faults. Do you assist me with your advice, and prayers; in mine, you come every day; but you will easily suppose I don't pray for you in a very loud voice. I say nothing of my dispositions in your regard: they are always the same. If the abbé de Langeron is at Cambray, say to him a little kind word from me, but recommend silence to him." Fenelon's letters to the duke abound with good advice. "Religion," he writes him, "does not consist in a scrupulous observance of little forms, but in the steady observance of the duties proper for one's state; a great prince is not to serve God in the same manner as a hermit, or an obscure individual. I must tell you the truth; the public esteems you, respects you, forms great hopes of you, and wishes to see you without fault; but the public thinks you stern, timid, and scrupulous, and that you have not the talent of uniting moderation and firmness in your decisions. Show them they are mistaken: if you wish that religion

should be honoured, let your's be simple, accommodating, sensible, noble, enlightened, proper for your rank, You cannot regulate the court or the army, as you might a religious community. I am glad you see, by your own experience, what war really is; how much it is to be dreaded; how the greatest armies often prove unserviceable: how easily the most splendid monarchies are shaken; how rigorously princes, in the midst of the incense of their flatterers, are censured by the public. While despotism abounds with ways and means, it acts with more promptitude and energy than a limited monarchy; but, as soon as the ways and means begin to fail, it sinks for ever. When despotism becomes bankrupt, how are you to expect that the venal herd, who have fattened so long on the spoils of their country, will, by their exertion in her support, expose themselves to ruin. Should you ever come to the throne, you should wish to be the father, not the master of your people. You should know that all were not made for one; that the one was made for all, and to work for the happiness of all."

One is at a loss, whom most to admire, the preceptor, who so eloquently taught, or the royal youth, who so willingly listened to these excellent lessons.

It appears, that, for the duke's information, Fenelon committed to paper the heads of a project for remedying the abuses of the French government. He evidently saw that the time was come, when public opinion called loudly for an intermediate body between the monarch and the people, to attach them more to each other, and to increase the general interest of the public in the welfare of their country. With this view, Fenelon suggested an assembly of the notables; and, for this suggestion, M. de Baussét thinks Fenelon requires an apology; and he accordingly makes an elaborate apology for him.

The humanity and attentions which Fenelon showed to the sufferers in the war in Flanders, endeared him to the whole nation. "Charity," says the duke de St. Simon, "was among Fenelon's most striking virtues: it embraced equally, the rich, the poor, his friends, and his enemies. He found frequent occasions for the exertion of it in the crowds of the wounded and sick, who, in the wars in Flanders, were carried in great numbers to Cambray. He was regular in his visitations of the hospitals, showed constant attention to the lowest officers, and generally, during their illness, lodged a considerable number of the principal officers in his palace. Like a true shepherd of Christ, he watched continually over their spiritual welfare. The fine manners, which his habits of high life gave him, attached them to him, and none ever had occasion to repent of confidence reposed in Fenelon. In sickness, and in health, they always found him willing to listen to their humble confessions, and anxious to replace them in the path of virtue. If the lowest person in the hospital requested his attendance, Fenelon never refused his request. Their corporal necessities were equally an object of his compassionate zeal. Broths, meat, physic, comfortable food of every description, and always of the best kind, were sent them, in well regulated plenty, from his palace, Fenelon presided at the consultations of the physicians, with the tender concern of a warm and kind friend. It is impossible to conceive how greatly he became the idol of the military, and how Versailles, in spite of her stern master, resounded with his name. It happened, that the commissariat was in extreme want of corn for the troops: the archbishop emptied his granaries for their subsistence, and refused to be paid. On that occasion, Lewis the fourteenth himself became his panegy-

rist. His charity and polite attentions extended equally to the prisoners of war, as to his countrymen. In all he did, there was an indescribable propriety; the true episcopal character appeared in it; and virtue herself became more beautiful, from Fenelon's manner of being virtuous.

The death of the dauphin, advanced his royal pupil to the rank next the throne; and the good effects of the education he had received from Fenelon, were then perceived by all. From that moment, the duke appeared to be every thing which the nation wished. He threw off his reserve, did the honours of the court with majesty and gracefulness. His easy, instructive, and well adapted conversation, charmed the better kind of courtiers, pleased every ear, gained every heart, showed his talents, and the use which it was to be expected he would make of them. He was never wanting in attention to birth, to age, to natural or acquired endowments; it is wonderful, with what rapidity he gained universal esteem, admiration, and love. The joy of the public made it the theme of every conversation. Is this the man, they asked, till lately so reserved, and unaccommodating?—The dukes of Beauvilliers and Chevreuse answered, He is the man; the very man, we always knew him to be; but the time is now arrived, when it is proper for him to unfold his real character; and, such as you now see him, such you will ever find him.

It will easily be supposed, that, from this moment, all the attention of the courtiers, veered to the acknowledged friends of the duke of Burgundy. The dauphin died in April, and that very spring revealed at Cambray, to the happy and delighted flock, the change which had taken place at Versailles, in their pastor's regard.—Cambray immediately became the general road to the army of Flanders; every person of rank, who served in it, found

some reason for passing through Cambray, and prolonging his stay there, as long as he could find a real or pretended cause.

But the hopes, which the duke of Burgundy raised, he was destined not to realize: he died in 1712, and was regretted by the whole kingdom. His eyes were scarcely closed, when Lewis the fourteenth ordered that his papers should be brought to him; he examined them with minute and anxious attention, and burned them with his own hands. Madame de Maintenon informed the duke de Beauvilliers of this circumstance: she adds, "I am sorry they are burned; nothing so beautiful or so good was ever written; if the prince whose loss we deplore, had some faults, it was not because the councils given him, were feeble, or because he was too much flattered. Well may we say, that those who keep the strait path shall not be confounded." One important manuscript, the *Directions for the Conscience of a King*, happened to be in the hands of the duke de Beauvilliers, and thus escaped the flames. Every line of it breathes moderation and virtue; every line censures ostentation, inordinate love of glory, thirst of conquest, injustice, luxury, yielding to flattery, and the wish of absolute power. It was not printed till several years after Fenelon's decease, when a superb impression of it was printed by the marquis de Fenelon, then ambassador at the Hague. The court of Versailles took the alarm, and peremptorily ordered the marquis to suppress all the copies: he obeyed the order, preserving two copies of it only; one of which found its way to the library of M. Gaignat, and is noticed by De Bure. A surreptitious edition of it was published at the Hague in 1747; in 1774, it was published at Paris, with the express permission of Lewis the sixteenth.

WE are now arrived at the term of our biography :— and we cannot close it better than in the words of the duke de St. Simon. “ Fenelon,” says the duke, “ survived his disciple two years. Neither in the life-time of the prince, nor after his decease, did a word once escape Fenelon, which showed regret for what he had lost, or a wish concerning the future. Concentrated in his pastoral duties, he died, if the expression may be allowed, in the field of honour. Returning from an episcopal visit, his coach was overturned ; no one was wounded, and he himself run no particular danger : but the shock was too great for his feeble frame. When he arrived at Cambray, he was feverish, and in a few days, was beyond the reach of remedy. During his whole illness, he appeared insensible to what he quitted, and occupied only with the thought of what he was going to find. Penetrated with the most lively sentiments of religion, he placed his soul in the hands of God, with a resignation full of confidence and humility. He wrote a letter to the king, containing no request for himself, but earnestly recommending to him, the wants of his diocese.—Lewis the fourteenth declared, on perusing the letter, that he had never read any thing more affecting, or more worthy of the last moments of a bishop. Fenelon died at the age of 65, in the arms of his friends, and his clergy, mourned by all his diocese, equally lamented by catholics and protestants.—To complete his eulogium, he left behind him, neither debt nor money.”

THE
L I F E
OF
HENRY-MARIE DE BOUDON,
ARCHDEACON OF EVREUX
IN NORMANDY.

AMONG the few pleasures of an Author, the liberty, which custom allows him, of dedicating his Works to those, whom he particularly reverences and regards, is one of the greatest : Availing myself of this liberty, I inscribe, with every grateful and affectionate sentiment, these pages to HER, to whom I owe thirty-seven years of happiness.

Charles Butler.

*Great Ormond Street,
14 Oct. 1813.*

THE LIFE

OF

HENRI-MARIE DE BOUDON.

THE Sketches of the Lives of Bossuet and Fenelon, which have been lately laid before the public, have presented to the reader, a view of two of the brightest ornaments of the church of France. Both of them were eminent for the purity of their morals, their piety, their exemplary discharge of pastoral duty, their learning and their eloquence. But, while both of them made the principles of the Gospel the rule of their conduct, both of them were attentive to the forms and decencies of polished life; and thus far, both of them, it may be said, kept terms with the world.—With the world, the venerable man, whose life is the subject of the present pages, kept no terms:—**GOD ALONE** was the sole end and aim of his life.

He was born on the fourteenth day of January sixteen hundred and twenty-four, of noble parents. Three queens, Mary of Medicis, the widow of Henry the fourth, Ann of Austria, the wife of Lewis the thirteenth, and Henrietta-Maria, the daughter of the first, and the sister of the second of these princes, and, afterwards the wife of our Charles the first, were present at his baptism. The last of them was his god-mother, and, out of respect to her, he received the christain name of Henry-Mary. His mother, immediately upon his birth, placed him

under the protection of the Virgin Mary ; and, as soon as he was capable of bearing the journey, took him to Liesse, a town in Normandy, and there, in a chapel, dedicated to the Holy Virgin, placed him under her protection. When Boudon grew up, this was a subject of great joy to him : " Oh most amiable and most merciful mother !" he used to exclaim, " from my earliest years thou hast been a mother to me. Were all hearts in the world in my power, they should be dedicated to thy Son. They should breathe his perfect love, and incessantly sound his praises !" At three years of age he could read ; and even then, rose always at an early hour to sing the divine office. When he was in his ninth year, he made his first communion. He prepared himself for it, by much prayer, by many acts of charity, and by great austerity ; for, even at that age, holy austerity was familiar to him. The Almighty received his humble preparation, and bestowed on him an abundance of those heavenly favours which exceed all worldly joy. From that time, he dedicated himself to God alone : and, soon after, made a vow of perpetual chastity.

He was then placed under the Jesuits at Rouen. There, he prosecuted his studies with exemplary diligence, and made great proficiency in them. He was beloved both by his masters and schoolfellows. Insensibly he formed the latter, and several other children, into bands, dedicated to practices of devotion and charity. He frequently spoke to them on pious subjects ; on the dignity of their souls ; or the goodness of Jesus Christ, who became poor for the love of them, and died on the cross to redeem them ; on the habitual disposition, in which they ought to be, of preferring death, in its most hideous form, to the slightest sin. He was particularly attentive to such of the children as were poor : he in-

culcated to them, that, if they sanctified their humble lot by probity and devotion, they would cease to be poor, as they would become the beloved children of God, and co-heirs of his eternal kingdom. His words had a wonderful effect on their little minds. One of them, a beggar in rags, while the Jesuits were making a collection at Rouen, for building a church, offered a small piece of money to the rector, as a mite, towards the pious work. The rector, observing the poverty of the child's appearance, declined the present. The child as rich in faith as poor in fortune, looked steadily at the rector, and said to him;—"Father, you are under a mistake! I am not poor! I am a Christian, and therefore a child of a great king, and heir of a great kingdom. God is my father; and if I truly love and serve him, his kingdom is mine by inheritance."—Boudon incessantly recommended the poor children to those who were rich: "They are," he used to say, "your brethren. Deny yourselves what you can to give it to them; and, when you give it, return thanks to God, that, in permitting you to serve them, he does you the honour of permitting you to serve him. Above all things, never give them a look, or a word, that is harsh. Every poor man is an image of Christ: What a crime must it be to treat the image of God—to treat one whom he loves, with disrespect!" By degrees the association was a matter of general wonder and edification in the city of Rouen. Every morning at four o'clock the members of it met at the church of the Jesuits, made their morning prayer and meditation, and then heard mass. In the evening they again assembled to pray; and, in the intermediate time, employed themselves in their proper occupations. On Sundays and festivals, they attended the whole of the divine service in the church; and, in the evening assembled in

some sequestered spot in the country, and made it resound with their holy hymns. But in the mean time they lost no opportunity of serving the poor. They begged alms for them, procured medicines for such of them as were sick, prevailed on physicians and surgeons to attend them, dressed their wounds, and obtained food and raiment for them. They were particularly attentive to their spiritual welfare: read good books, and brought priests to them.—What was very remarkable, not a single act of imprudence was ever charged on these interesting children. This circumstance Boudon frequently observed; he ascribed it to a singular protection of Providence:—"God," he used to say, "never neglects those who trust in him, and who, sincerely, make his glory the object of their lives."

By these occupations, Boudon sanctified his studies, till he came to the end of Rhetoric. In the mean time, he passed through trials of the severest kind. At a very tender age, he lost his father; and, soon after his father's decease, his mother contracted a second marriage. From that time Boudon had no home; the provisions, with which his family supplied him for his subsistence, were, from the first, very scanty; by degrees, they were diminished, and, at length, absolutely discontinued. Thus, he himself became one of the poorest children of the association which he had instituted; and was altogether supported by casual donations, or by alms, solicited by him in the streets. He was never heard to murmur at his lot; but received what was given him with cheerful and humble gratitude; and, whenever it exceeded his own immediate wants, he gave the excess to the poor.

When he had finished his studies, Boudon went to Paris, to study philosophy. He was wholly destitute of regular means of support, but Providence watched

over him. One day, being quite faint with hunger, he went into the church of Notre Dâme. The abbé de Laval, of the illustrious house of Montmorency, afterwards bishop of Quebec, entered it at the same time: Boudon held out his hand to him for alms. The abbé refused him with some harshness, and walked into another part of the church. There, unseen by Boudon, he observed him, before the blessed sacrament, in that attitude of respect with which the Scriptures represent the seraphs before the throne of God. Charmed with the devotion of his countenance, and the length and fervour of his prayer, the abbé advanced to Boudon as a living saint, and respectfully asked him who he was, and what he wanted. Boudon shortly informed him, that he was a poor student, and wished to prosecute his studies; but that he had no means of doing it; and that, being at the moment in want of bread, he had implored his charity for alms. The abbé took him into his house, and from that time provided for his subsistence and education.

Being thus secure of his temporal support, Boudon was better enabled to devote himself to his studies and spiritual exercises. He joined a number of young gentlemen destined for the ecclesiastical state, and associated under the direction of father Bagot, a Jesuit distinguished by his piety, and his skill in the care of souls. Most of them were persons of quality, and Boudon was the only poor man among them. They lived in community; had regular hours for rising, for going to bed, for their meals, for study, for prayer, for recreation. They lived in great retirement, and sought to die to the world and themselves. Boudon continued among them till he entered into holy orders. In the mean time he cultivated the acquaintance of several persons of extraordinary piety. Those who have no other information

of the reign of Lewis the XIV. than what the historians and memoir writers of his reign supply, have no conception that it abounded with persons of most exalted piety. Numbers of them were known to God alone; but others edified the faithful, among whom they lived, and the multitude of these was such, that there scarcely is a province in France, which did not contain some person whose memory, for the purest and most heroic virtues, and for extraordinary favours of grace, is not, even at this time, held in benediction among the true followers of the cross. The biographers of Boudon mention many such persons, whom, during his stay at Paris, he often frequented. He himself gives an account of some solitaries, whom he discovered in the neighbourhood of Paris, which it is impossible to read without admiration of their exemplary patience and piety. "The prayer of each," says Boudon, "was different, but the prayer of each was perfect, and almost all of them abounded in those sublime gifts, which are generally only the rewards of the most heroic virtue." One of them seems, by Boudon's account, to have suffered the utmost degree of corporal pain that the human frame can endure: but he bore it with unfailing patience. He regularly assisted at the church service; now and then, the extremity of his sufferings drew from him a sudden shriek; or some other short expression of pain; but the serenity of his countenance, and the mildness of all he said and did showed, that, in the midst of his excruciating torture; he was possessed of interior peace.

In this manner, Boudon endeavoured to acquire the sublimest of all sciences, that of living to God Alone; but he was fully sensible how easy it is to pronounce those words, and how difficult to practise the truth which they inculcate.—"It is easy," he observes in one of his writings, "to live to God Alone in prayer: but who

“ lives for him alone in pain or pleasure! In prayer, we
“ sigh over the vanity of all that the world esteems; but
“ we are no sooner in company, than we are entangled
“ by the world, and sigh for its friendship and esteem.
“ The senses, which delight in pleasure and created
“ objects, insensibly lead us to believe them of some
“ value. Then God alone ceases to be thought of, and
“ the world usurps His place. How many exclaim that
“ the world is nothing! Many devout persons are even
“ supernaturally persuaded of this truth. But is there
“ one, even of these, who is sufficiently strong to act
“ up to this adorable truth?—Behold the multitudes
“ which fill our towns;—behold, in one view, all the
“ nations of the universe. They are nothing in the
“ sight of God. O Holy Spirit of God! imprint this
“ truth in me. In some of the solemn days, consecrated
“ to thy honour, in some of the festivals, in which the
“ mysteries of thy life are celebrated, vouchsafe to me,
“ O Jesus! the grace of knowing that God Alone is,
“ and that all else is nought. How can a sinner esteem
“ himself any thing? Nothing was ever comparable to
“ the holy humanity of Jesus, to his graces, his per-
“ fections, his grandeurs: but Jesus placed delight in
“ God Alone: let Thy will, he prayed, not mine, be
“ done.”

After a long preparation, Boudon entered into holy orders and was ordained priest. Through the interest of the abbé de Laval, he was appointed to the arch-deaconry of Evreux, the only ecclesiastical benefice which he enjoyed. His poverty, and the supposed meanness of his extraction, prejudiced the diocese against him: but his zeal for the service of God, his unaffected piety, and his love of the poor, soon gained him every heart. Persons of the highest rank thought they did themselves honour by showing him respect: where-

ever he preached, the church was crowded; his sermons were universally admired; they equally subdued and satisfied reason, and were followed by innumerable conversions.

The good effects of his labours soon appeared. Several, who had long scandalized the public by the open profligacy of their lives, were reclaimed by them; and afterwards edified their neighbour, by their severe and persevering penance, as much as they had shocked him before by their excesses. Many, from slothfulness and tepidity, were animated by Boudon to the highest fervour. The purity and austerity of his own life authorized him to preach to others: "It does not," says Bourdaloue, in his Sermon on the Feast of St. Andrew, "belong to every one to preach the way of the Cross. "It is an eternal truth, that it is our duty to take up "the cross and follow Christ; and that to do this, we "must bear the cross voluntarily, and must glory in the "cross. But this eternal truth has not the same grace "from every mouth. It is equally the interest of all to "understand and practise it; but every one feels a secret "dislike of being told it by those, who do not practise "it; and, generally speaking, when a worldlyling takes "upon him to instruct his hearers in this saving truth, "so far from being docile scholars, they rebel; they "cannot bear that a man, to whom none of the good "things of this life is wanting, should preach mortification and penance to them. However zealous, "however eloquent, such a man may be, they think "they have a right to tell him, that the language of "the cross does not become him." But, nothing of this could be opposed to Boudon; his life was a model of the devotion, the humility, and the penance, which he preached. A celebrated preacher ingenuously said to him, "I don't know how it happens: my sermons are

“ much more applauded than yours: yet I scarcely gain
“ a soul to God; while those whom you gain to him
“ are countless.” None of his sermons have reached
us: but we may conceive the nature of them from his
writings. The soul that lives for God Alone speaks in
every line of them; and they abound with passages of
extraordinary eloquence. “ O eternity! eternity!” he
exclaims in one of his writings, (*Les Saintes Voies de la*
Croix, ch. vi.) “ how little do’st thou enter into the
“ mind of men! So deplorable is their blindness, that
“ they are wholly occupied by that, which flits away as
“ a shadow, and scarcely give a thought to that, which
“ is to endure for ever! O Eternity! All men are to be
“ buried in thy unfathomable depths! But a few years,
“ (and perhaps not even those remain to us), and Eter-
“ nity shall be our lot! Shall it be a happy or a miserable
“ Eternity? We know not. O dreadful uncertainty!
“ The pillars of the heavens shake: even they, who are
“ to judge the world, tremble. But shake and tremble
“ as we may, we cannot avoid thee. O my soul! let
“ but a little time, a moment, pass away, and eternity
will be thy lot!”

His writings are very numerous: That which is in-
titled, “ *Dieu Seul*,” or, “ God Alone,” is considered
to be his masterpiece: it was a popular work of devotion
in France. All of them abound with solid instruction.
They incessantly inculcate the obligation of observing
the commandments of God, and of observing them in
the manner which the church prescribes; but they
particularly inculcate, that, among the commandments
of God, we must include the maxims of the gospel:
that self-denial, the pardon of injuries, the loving of
our enemies, the carrying of the cross, and works of
spiritual and corporal mercy, are not less the duty of
every Christian, than the commandments of the De-

calogue. Several of his writings are calculated for those only who aspire to the heights of Holy Perfection—With Bossuet and Fenelon he had the greatest admiration of the works of Father Surin.

Religious communities were particularly respected and attended to by Boudon. He was always at their command; with many individuals in them he corresponded; and, in all their temporal and spiritual distresses, they found in him an active and steady friend. He was the father of the poor, and the comforter of all in affliction. Immediately after he had been instituted into his archdeaconry, he circulated a devotional writing, by which, he placed the district, within his jurisdiction, under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This excited a smile: "But," said Boudon, "why should we not put ourselves under the protection of her, whose Son is omnipotent? In 1638, Lewis the XIIIth, solemnly invoked her; laid his sceptre and crown on the altar of the church of Notre Dâme at Paris; put himself and his whole kingdom under her patronage; and every good man approved of his conduct. Now, if such a conduct became so great a monarch, what, lowly and abject, as I am, can I do better, than imitate his conduct?" Language sunk under him, when he spoke in the praise of the Mother of God. "No creature," he used to say, "however pure, has been so intimately united to Jesus Christ, as his holy mother. In the order of Providence, there is nothing like her. Mother of God! that title, that dignity, belongs to her alone. But she is also our mother. I want words to express what I feel, when I think of it. Let each one choose his devotion, the holy Mother of God shall, after her Son, be the unwearied object of mine."

He lived in the presence of God, and his recollection

of it was habitual. Travelling once in a barge, with a numerous company, whose conversation was engrossed by the objects which presented themselves to their view, it affected him to tears, to think how God was forgotten. "The heart of man," he exclaimed, "is truly incomprehensible! One person points out a fine tree; every one looks at it; another remarks a fine house; immediately it becomes a general object of conversation: But, let any one say, God is here! Even the thought of him is avoided."

Boudon's reliance on Providence was unbounded. Early in life he made a vow of poverty, and never was vow more rigidly observed. He never possessed more than mere necessities, and was often without those. When he set out on a journey, however distant the term of it might be, he never took with him more money than would satisfy the expense of the first day. For his subsistence and lodging, he trusted to the hospitality of the curates and religious houses, that should be in his way. He was sometimes disappointed, but Providence never absolutely deserted him.

His charity to his neighbours was most edifying. Their spiritual wants were his first care: to supply them, he refused no pains, and avoided no labour. Whole days he often spent in his confessional, in catechising or instructing the poor. His exertions to supply their temporal wants were great: and he never appeared so happy as when the lowest of the poor crowded about him for his instruction or his alms. His behaviour to them was not only kind, but respectful; in all of them, he beheld, to use his own words, (*Vie cachée avec Jesus en Dieu*, ch. iv.) "the person of Him, who chose for the palace, in which he should be born, a poor stable; for the courtiers to fill it, low animals; for its furniture, naked walls; for his cradle, a manger; for

“ the time of his birth, a season of the bitterest cold ;
“ who, during many years, gained his bread by the
“ sweat of his brow ; and afterwards lived on alms ;
“ who, when every bird had his nest, every fox his
“ lurking hole, had no place in which he could rest his
“ head ; who died naked on the cross. O my soul ! he,
“ whom thou beholdest on it, is the Lord of all things !
“ The universe is his. Surely a condition which *He*
“ chose, must be honourable. Honoured, then, and
“ respected by us all, be those who belong to it.”

All virtuous ecclesiastics were particularly respected by him. The idle and the voluptuous, he strove to reclaim ; those, who were contented to remain in decencies, he encouraged to nobler aims ; but, for those, who were truly men of God, his veneration had no limit.

In humility, few have surpassed him. It was his delight to be abject in the house of God : to be employed in those occupations, which attract no notice ; which are irksome and laborious ; which others avoid ; and, in which success is attended with no renown. The instruction of poor children, and the attendance of the sick poor, on prisoners, and on criminals sentenced to death, were the employments which he coveted. He was never known to say any thing, that could recommend himself ; and, for a time, the applause, which his sermons gained him, withheld him from preaching. His confusion, when he was praised, was visible ; and showed how unpleasant it was to him to hear his praises.

It was to be expected, that a life so uniformly good ; by which the public was so much edified, and which was so eminently useful to numberless individuals, would have attracted uniform and universal respect and love. But it pleased the Almighty, that Boudon should drink the cup of holy humiliation to its dregs. By incessant meditation on the sufferings of Christ, he had taught

himself its value, and qualified himself for its bitterest draught. "O my God!" (he exclaims in a work we have cited), "Thou wast treated as one, who had lost his intellects; and we seek the reputation of wit! Thou wast held in no repute, and we seek for honours! O my God! my divine Sovereign! What are my humiliations, my sufferings, compared to Thine! Come then, O my soul! Whatever it may cost us,—health, life, reputation, friends, let us go to Calvary, to our adorable King! His most holy mother and beloved disciple will bear us company. Let us die with him; die, to the point of honour; to pleasure; to ourselves: that, thus dying to all besides, we may live to Jesus! and to him alone. O my soul! How much better is it to be afflicted, to be disgraced, to be poor, to be abandoned with Jesus, in this life, and to be glorified for ever with him in the next, than to enjoy the honours and pleasures of this short and miserable life, and then to be precipitated into utter darkness, and suffer eternal confusion and shame, among devils!—I earnestly conjure all who read these lines, to meditate attentively on this important truth."

The libertines threw the first stone at Boudon. No person, either in his sermons or writings, could abstain, more than he did, from personalities: but, when vice is attacked, however generally, every vicious individual feels the blow, and is apt to think it aimed at him: this indisposed a large description of persons against Boudon. A less numerous, but more formidable, host of enemies, he found in a sect, which, at that time, convulsed the church of France to its centre. Boudon had uniformly opposed them; and they now took an active part against him. His great exertions were a secret reproach to the indolent part of the clergy of the diocese

in which he lived: and the lustre of his reputation created envy. Thus a general attack was made upon him: he was charged with the grossest imprudencies, and even with the blackest crimes. All the artifices of calumny were resorted to, and they succeeded too well. His bishop was prejudiced against him; almost all his friends deserted him; and he became a subject of general abuse. Sermons were preached against him; the doors of every one were closed to him: the finger of the prudent, and even of the good, was pointed at him, as an object of infamy. But all the charges against him were general; and so little of a specific nature was urged against him, that it never could be made a regular subject of ecclesiastical inquiry. Care was taken that the calumnies should find their way to Paris. There, at Rouen and Evreux, Boudon was equally a subject of universal scorn and derision. In the midst of this severe trial he possessed his soul in peace: he never published a word in his defence: he felt that the more he suffered, the more he resembled the divine Sufferer on Calvary: and, resigning himself to His holy will, he trusted himself, his reputation and his all to him. On one occasion, he arrived at Paris, worn down by illness, without a single piece of money to purchase the nourishment of the day. A religious community, dedicated to the service of the poor, heard of his situation, and sent a person in search of him. He was found, in a wretched garret, shaking with an ague, and with nothing for his subsistence but cold water. He was taken to the community; and, when he entered the doors of the convent, he fell on his knees and exclaimed, "Is it possible, O Jesus! That thy adorable providence should provide this retreat for such a miserable sinner as I am! Thou, who, when thou wast on earth, hadst no place to repose thine head!" He frequently blessed God for his

sufferings: "O my God," he used to say, "what have I done, that thou shouldst treat me, as thou treatest thy chosen favourites! What have I done, that thou shouldst favour me with poverty, with ignominy, with suffering, with all this internal and external woe."

In this afflicted and rejected state, he remained seven years: at length, his heroic patience attracted the attention of some considerate persons: they began to remark, that nothing specific was laid to his charge; and that if he had been guilty of any real crime, it must, considering how long accusation of him had been invited, have appeared, and its existence proved beyond controversy: but that nothing of the kind had been charged on him. This induced them, to think that there was, at least, much exaggeration in what was said to his disadvantage: and that led them to inquiry, and every inquiry proved favourable to Boudon. It happened, about this time, that one of his most violent adversaries was detected in an odious crime: in his distress, the unhappy man had recourse to him, whom he had so grossly traduced. Boudon received him with open arms, comforted him, put him into a suitable course of penance, watched, as his guardian angel, over him, till the work of his conversion was complete; and then procured for him admittance into a religious order. Previously to his entering into it, he presented himself before the bishop of Evreux, and acknowledged his slanders of Boudon. Astonished beyond description, the bishop sent for Boudon, and commanded him, by virtue of holy obedience, to justify himself, at a large meeting of the bishop and clergy of the diocese, which the bishop convened for the purpose. Then, for the first time, Boudon entered on his defence, and completely convinced the prelate, and every person present, of the

absolute falsehood of every charge which had been brought against him.

From that time the innocence of Boudon was universally acknowledged; and he was an object of universal veneration. He was consulted from every part of France, and some of the most illustrious persons of the age put themselves under his spiritual direction. Among them, his biographers mention, Henrietta-Febronia, princess of Bouillon, a niece of Turenne, and as illustrious for her piety, as her uncle was for his military talents. The reputation of Boudon was not confined to France. The duke and duchess of Bavaria prevailed on him to spend some time with them at their palace at Munic, that they might confer with him, at leisure, on their spiritual concerns. They showed him the greatest honours, but he would receive no present from them; and, on the second day, after he quitted them, he was, as usual, penniless, and had nothing but Providence to trust to for his support; but wherever he went he was received as an angel of God.

In the latter part of his life, his infirmities made it necessary for him to confine his exertions to preaching, and his archdeaconal functions. He was never melancholy; but was blessed in a high degree with the gift of holy compunction. From the general tenour of his life, it may be thought that his failings were not greater than those into which holy writ informs us, that even the just man falls seven times a day. But to a mind so enlightened as Boudon's on spiritual subjects, every such failing appeared in the nature of an act of rebellion to the divine will; and therefore a crime which could not be too greatly deplored. On the other hand, his humility made him apprehensive that he was guilty of sins which he did not discover. Thus he lived in constant

awe of the divine judgments; and his feelings, even when he most exulted in the mercy of God, were those of a contrite and humble heart. His humility also made him distrust his apparent good: and, when he thought of the Gospel truths, that "death will come on us at the time when we least expect; that man dies but once; that no one knows, whether he be an object of love or of hatred; that, after death cometh judgment, and after judgment, eternal bliss or eternal misery," he was seized with holy fear. This fear for himself extended to his neighbour, when he contemplated the general forgetfulness of God. "When I consider," he used to say, "the churches in towns, I see many persons in them: but I see too many who behave irreverently; and I see several who make them mere thoroughfares. How can they forget, that God, though invisible, resides in every church, in all his majesty, and all his power, and that he most severely punishes every profanation of his sanctuaries. When I consider the churches in the villages, I scarcely see any person in them, except on a Sunday, so that Jesus Christ, as he describes himself, is as solitary in them, as the sparrow on the house top, or the pelican of the wilderness. Yet the holy tabernacles, in which Christ universally resides, should be the refuge of all who are afflicted, the treasure of all the poor, the asylum of all the persecuted, the spiritual food of all the hungry.—No guards prevent our approach to him, all avenues to him are open, he invites all to him: but how few accept the invitation! Those that accept it well know, that an hour passed at his feet, is better than a thousand spent in the tabernacles of sinners." This spiritual blindness of mankind he bitterly deplored; it sometimes made him feel a wearisomeness of life, and

breathe his soul in pious aspirations for another and a better world.

But his piety was neither morose nor selfish—his advice was always given in the most soothing terms ; and, however absorbed he might be in any of his devotions, he quitted it without reluctance when his neighbour's good required it. He used to say, that a troublesome or unwelcome interruption, and the person who causes it, should be received with cheerfulness. A clergyman complained to him, that he was oppressed by crowds of disagreeable persons, who did not profit by his instructions. "My dear friend," Boudon said to him, "do not lose courage. Never abate of your endeavours "to serve your neighbour. We have not laid down "our lives for him, as Jesus Christ, who should be our "model, did on the cross. Be assured that God is often "more glorified by the patient exertions of those who "labour without effect, than by those, whose labours "are crowned with the greatest success. After all, it is "our labour in the service of God, not the fruit of "that labour, which God requires of us, and has promised to reward." But, though Boudon wished that persons should be most zealous and active in the service of God, he wished their zeal and activity to be of the gentlest kind. "When you are obliged," he used to say, "to advise or admonish, never use injurious, contemptuous, or offensive terms. Remember that you "speak to persons who are members of Jesus Christ, "and that he has announced to us, that at the last day "we shall be judged as we have judged others. Speak "to every one with gentleness ; be rude to none ; listen "with patience to all who speak to you. When you "cannot do what is required of you, do not refuse it abruptly ; refuse it civilly and humbly." This advice

is certainly excellent; and it was given by one who uniformly practised it. "Figure to yourself," says Collèt, the latest biographer of Boudon, "a man who never appeared sensible of the bad temper or awkwardness of his neighbour, who received harsh treatment as another would kindness; who, in every occurrence, and even under the severest trials, was always serene and affable; whose language was uniformly civil, unaffected, full of piety, prudent and charitable; who was ever attentive to avoid saying anything which tended to his own advantage; who always listened with modest attention, and interrupted no one, unless the glory of God, or the defence of his neighbour, made it necessary."—How justly does this description of Boudon verify the golden axiom of St. Francis of Sales, "That a good christian is never outdone in good manners!"

Boudon now touched on the eternal years, which, from the earliest dawn of his reason, he had always had in his mind, and for which his whole life had been a constant preparation. He beheld their approach with pious resignation and firm confidence in the mercy of God. To prepare himself for his last hour, he secluded himself, for some time before his death, wholly, from the world. This he describes as the happiest part of his life: "Oh what a grace is it to be entirely separated from the world! The world is full of infection; it is difficult to remain, even for a short time, in it, without being infected with its contagion. It is good for me to attach myself to God! In Him I have ever trusted, and will ever trust." In this awful hour, four things gave him humble joy—the poverty in which he had lived, the slanders he had borne without reply, his constant devotion to the immaculate Virgin-mother of God, and the ridicule to which it had exposed him. His sufferings were great; when

the physician asked him how he did: "Very ill," was his answer, "blessed be God! his holy mother! the angels and saints!" At length, the physician told him, that there was no longer any hope: He received the information, with visible satisfaction; he thanked the physician for the attention which he had shown him; he thanked, in like manner, all other persons, who had assisted him in his illness: he desired that his friends might be informed of his approaching dissolution, and that he requested their prayers. This was his final Adieu to every thing earthly. "It is now," he exclaimed in a transport of holy joy, "that I am in the hands of divine Providence! My holy mother through life! All human means now desert me! This is my comfort! My joy! I now can truly say, God Alone! and God Alone, for all eternity, in union with my Saviour."

He received the sacrament of Extreme Unction, and then, for the last time, received the Holy Communion. He soon after expired. "God Alone," were the last words he was heard to pronounce: He was in the seventy-ninth year of his age when he died.

A few minutes before he expired, observing his room full of persons, he desired an ecclesiastic to say to them from him, "that he exhorted them most earnestly, to serve and love God with their whole soul: and, to remember, that, in the region of God Alone, into which he was then rapidly advancing, and in which all of them would, sooner or later, find themselves, it was always discovered, (but often too late), that TO LOVE AND SERVE GOD WAS ALL THEY HAD TO DO ON EARTH."

THE
L I F E
OF
ST. VINCENT OF PAUL.

THE LIFE
OF
ST. VINCENT OF PAUL.

INTRODUCTION.

ABELLY, the bishop of Rodez, begins his history of the life of our saint, by observing, that “ the wisdom and power of God, in the conduct of his church, never appears more admirable, than when he takes occasion, from the calamities which afflict her, to exercise his greatest mercies towards her ; making her acquire gain from her losses, glory from her humiliations, and abundance from her sterility ; so that, according to what he himself says by his prophet*, when, for a time, he seems to forsake her, he afterwards shews that it was only to fill her with new benedictions, and to favour her with more particular graces. This,” continues the prelate, “ made the great saint Hilary say to the Arians, who, in his time, kept truth in bondage to injustice, that it is peculiar to the church of Jesus Christ, to triumph, when she is wounded, to make herself more known, the more she is disfigured by the calumnies of her adversaries, and then to obtain the most powerful succours from God, when she appears most destitute of his protection.”

* Is. 54.

Exemplifying this observation, the prelate proceeds to exhibit a frightful picture of the deplorable state of the church of France, at the time of the birth of the holy man, whose life he undertakes to write. He represents her, at that time, as just beginning to breathe after the horrors of the league; but still presenting, in every part of the kingdom, the melancholy spectacle of temples in ruin, altars overturned, the pillage of religious houses, the spoliation of the clergy; the people, in most provinces, a flock without a shepherd, without the sacraments, and without instruction; some exertions making to remedy these evils: the effects of them beginning to appear in some towns, but not seen, in the country.

“ While France was in this lamentable state, it pleased “ the Almighty,” says d’Abelly, “ that a child should be “ born of very obscure parents, in the swamps of Bour- “ deaux, who was to render the most signal services to the “ church: to fill the house of God with faithful ministers, “ to shut the door of ecclesiastical dignities against the “ unworthy; to establish a numerous congregation of “ clergymen dedicated to the observance of holiness, “ and the instruction of their poor neighbours;—another “ congregation, equally numerous, of pious women, dedi- “ cated to the relief of the distressed poor; to raise, in “ times of great national calamity, greater sums for the “ relief of distress, than have ever flowed from a royal “ treasury; to distribute an abundance of spiritual bless- “ ings, not only over the large territory of France, but “ over every country of Europe.”—D’Abelly ventured to prognosticate, that there would not be a single page in his work, which would not record some action, on which the reader would pronounce,—that the finger of God was on it.

In his *Life of Bossuet*, the writer of these pages has described a prelate endowed with the most profound

learning, and the most sublime eloquence, and making both subservient to religion;—in his *Life of Fénelon*, a prelate of the most exalted soul and the tenderest piety, prostrate at the feet of the cross, and humbly bowing his neck to the authority of the church;—in his *Life of the abbot de Rancé*, a holy monk, whom God raised in the latter ages to revive the spirit, the sentiments, and the practices of monastic discipline, when it was in its perfection and full vigour;—and in his *Life of Henri Marie de Boudon*, a pious priest, at once contemplative and active, and humbly confining his exertions to the duties of his sacred ministry:—he now attempts to record the principal actions of ST. VINCENT OF PAUL, or the Saint, as he was usually called in France, of modern times:—At the day of retribution, when every child of Adam will have to account for his works, it may be doubted, whether one will appear, with more numerous deeds of useful and heroic charity.

The publications which the writer has principally used in this composition, are, *La Vie du Vénérable Serviteur de Dieu, Vincent de Paul, Instituteur et Premier Supérieur General de la Congregation de la Mission. Divisée en trois livres, par Messire Louis Abelli, Evêque de Rodes*, 4to. Paris, 1654.—*L'Esprit de Vincent de Paul*, 8vo. Paris, 1780.—*Vie complète de St. Vincent de Paul, Instituteur de la Congregation de la Mission, et des Filles de la Charité. Par M. Collët. Nouvelle édition*, 4 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1718.—*And the Life of St. Vincent of Paul, in the Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints, by the Reverend Alban Butler, Murphy's edition*, vol. vii. p. 242.

CHAP. I.

THE LIFE OF SAINT VINCENT OF PAUL, FROM HIS
BIRTH, TILL HIS CAPTIVITY IN ALGIERS.

1576—1604.

IN one of the beautiful prayers, with which the golden book of the Imitation of Christ abounds, its pious author beseeches the Almighty *, to preserve him both from a state of too great solicitude, and from a state of too great ease. It was the will of God, that our saint should be born in a much lower condition of life. William of Paul, and Bertrande de Moras his wife, were owners of a cottage, and some small fields at Pouy, within the diocese of Acqs, not far from the Pyrenees. They had six children, four boys and two girls. Vincent, their third son, was born on the 24th of April 1576. The parents gave a virtuous education to all their children, and inured them, in their earliest years, to hard labour.

Vincent guarded the sheep and the swine: he was soon remarked for his piety, sobriety, and love of the poor. He frequently gave them some of his own cloaths, and when he met them in extreme distress, he sometimes bestowed on them, a portion of the corn, which he was carrying home; but he did this with great discretion, and with the connivance of his charitable father. On one occasion, having saved thirty sous, no inconsiderable sum for a person in his very humble lot, he gave the whole to a poor object, who begged alms of him.

As he grew up, he discovered a turn and capacity for learning. In the neighbourhood of Pouy, the son of an

* Lib. iii. ch. 26, v. 2.

humble peasant, had taken to the church, obtained a priory, and supported, from its revenues, some of his relations, and advanced others in the world. This made an impression on the father of Vincent: he thought his son as well qualified for the ecclesiastical state, as the successful prior, and as likely to obtain preferment. This, he considered, would enable him to assist his family. With this view, he placed his son at a poor grammar-school, of a convent of friars. His diligence and modesty, attracted to him the esteem and good will of his masters, and they held him up as a model to his school-fellows. M. Commêt, a magistrate of distinction in the town of Acqs, was so struck with Vincent's merit, that he took him into his house to assist his sons in their studies, allowing him, at the same time, to attend his own: Vincent was then in his twelfth year: his reputation continued to increase, and, in 1596, being in his twenty-first year, he received the tonsure, and the four minor orders, from the bishop of Tarbes.

He prosecuted his studies, for some time at Toulouse, Arragon and Saragossa. His worthy father contributed towards his support; but, to supply the deficiency of the charitable exertions of his father, Vincent established a school at Busêt, in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, still pursuing, in that university, his course of study, under the public professors. He was generally esteemed: the duke d'Epemon, at this time one of the most powerful men of the court, was equally struck with his piety and his talents, and expressed a willingness to advance him in the church: But Vincent resiled from these flattering offers. After he had studied theology, he took the degree of batchelor in that sacred science: in 1598, he was ordained successively, deacon and sub-deacon; and, in 1600, received the order of priesthood.

from the hands of the bishop of Pèrègueux.—Before this time, Vincent lost his father. So bent had the good man been on his son's embracing the ecclesiastical state, that he enjoined his family by his will, to assist him with the means of pursuing his studies.

CHAP. II.

ST. VINCENT IS TAKEN CAPTIVE AND CARRIED TO
TUNIS: HE ESCAPES.

1605—1607.

VINCENT now became generally known and esteemed: "But," to use the language of the pious author of the *Lives of the Saints**; "there remained a new science for him to learn, which was to cost him much more than bare study and labour. This consists in perfect experimental and feeling sentiments of humility, patience, meekness and charity; which science is only to be learned by the good use of severe interior and exterior trials. This is the mystery of the cross, unknown to those whom the Holy Ghost has not led into this important secret of his conduct, in preparing souls for the great works of his grace. The prosperity of the wicked will appear at the last day to have often been the most dreadful judgment, and a state in which they were goaded on in the pursuit of their evil courses; whilst, on the contrary, it will then be manifested to all men, that the afflictions of the saints have been the greatest effects of divine mercy. Thus, by a chain of temporal disasters, did God lay in the soul of Vincent, the solid foundation of that high virtue, to which by his grace he afterwards raised him.

*In his *Life of St. Vincent*, vol. vii. p. 244, Murphy's edition.

“ The saint went to Marseilles in 1605, to receive
“ a legacy of 500 crowns, which had been left him by
“ a friend who died in that city. Intending to return
“ to Toulouse, he set out in a felucca, or large boat,
“ from Marseilles to Narbonne : but was met in the way
“ by three brigantines of African pirates. The infidels,
“ seeing the Christians refuse to strike their flag, charged
“ them with great fury, and on the first onset killed three
“ of their men, and wounded every one of the rest ;
“ Vincent received a shot of an arrow. The Christians
“ were soon obliged to surrender. The first thing the
“ Mahometans did, was to cut the captain in pieces, be-
“ cause he had not struck at the first summons, and in the
“ combat had killed one of their men, and four or five
“ slaves. The rest they put in chains ; and continued
“ seven or eight days longer on that coast, committing
“ several other piracies, but sparing the lives of those that
“ made no resistance. When they had got a sufficient
“ booty, they sailed for Barbary. Upon landing, they
“ drew up an act of their seizure, in which they falsely
“ declared that Vincent and his companions had been
“ taken on board of a Spanish vessel, that the French
“ consul might not challenge them. Then they gave to
“ every slave a pair of loose breeches, a linen jerkin and
“ a bonnet. In this garb they were led five or six times
“ through the city of Tunis, to be shown ; after which,
“ they were brought back to their vessel, where the mer-
“ chants came to see them, as men do at the sale of a
“ horse or an ox. They examined who could eat well,
“ felt their sides, looked at their teeth, to see who were
“ of scorbutic habits of body, consequently, unlikely for
“ very long life ; they probed their wounds, and made
“ them walk and run in all paces, lift up burdens, and
“ wrestle, to judge of their strength. Vincent was bought
“ by a fisherman, who, finding that he could not bear
“ the sea, soon sold him again to an old physician, a

" great chymist, and extractor of essences, who had
 " spent fifty years in search of the pretended philoso-
 " pher's stone. He was humane, and loved Vincent
 " exceedingly : but gave him long lectures on his al-
 " chymy, and on the Mahometan law, to which he used
 " his utmost efforts to bring him over ; promising, on
 " that condition, to leave him all his riches, and to com-
 " municate to him, what he valued much more than his
 " estate, all the secrets of his pretended science. Vincent
 " feared the danger of his soul much more than all the
 " hardships of his slavery, and most earnestly implored
 " the divine assistance against it, recommending him-
 " self particularly to the intercession of the B. Virgin,
 " to which he ever after attributed his victory over this
 " temptation. He lived with this old man from Sep-
 " tember 1605, to August 1606, when, by this physician's
 " death, he fell to the share of a nephew of his master,
 " a true man-hater. By resignation to the divine will,
 " and confidence in providence, he enjoyed a sweet re-
 " pose in his own heart, under all accidents, hardships,
 " and dangers ; and by assiduous devout meditation on
 " the sufferings of Christ, learned to bear all his afflic-
 " tions with comfort and joy, uniting himself in spirit
 " with his Divine Redeemer, and studying to copy in
 " himself his lessons of perfect meekness, patience,
 " silence, and charity. This new master sold him, in a
 " short time, to a renegado Christian, who came from
 " Nice in Savoy. This man sent him to his temat or
 " farm, situate on a hot desert mountain. This apostate
 " had three wives, of which one, who was a Turkish
 " woman, went often to the field, where Vincent was
 " digging, and, out of curiosity, would ask him to sing
 " the praises of God. He used to sing to her, with tears
 " in his eyes, the psalm, *Upon the rivers of Babylon, &c.*
 " the *Salve Regina*, and such like prayers. She was so
 " much taken with our holy faith, and doubtless, with

“the saintly deportment of the holy slave, that she never ceased repeating to her husband, that he had basely abandoned the only true religion, till, like another Caiphas, or ass of Balaam, without opening her own eyes to the faith, she made him enter into himself. Sincerely repenting of his apostacy, he agrees with Vincent to make their escape together. They crossed the Mediterranean sea in a small light boat, which the least squall of wind would overset; and they landed safe at Aigues-Mortes, near Marseilles, on the 28th of June 1607, and thence proceeded to Avignon. The apostate made his abjuration in the hands of the vice-legiate, and the year following, went with Vincent to Rome, and there entered himself a penitent in the austere convent of the Fate-ben-Fratelli, who served the hospitals, according to the rule of St. John of God.”

CHAP. III.

THE OCCUPATIONS OF ST. VINCENT, BEFORE HIS
LABOURS FOR THE SLAVES IN THE GALLIES.

1607—1618.

WHILE Vincent remained at Rome, he endeavoured to sanctify every moment, spent by him in that celebrated city, formerly the most splendid seat of the pagan worship, now the centre of the christian faith. The superb monuments, which still attest its ancient magnificence, and the wonderful productions of modern art, with which it abounds, did not attract his attention; “but,” to use his own words, “it was an unspeakable comfort to him, to find himself in a city, which was the mistress of christendom, the head of the church,

“militant of Christ, and which possessed the bodies of
“so many martyrs and saints, who had spilt their
“blood, and employed their lives for Jesus Christ.
“To walk on land, so often trodden by the saints, gave
“him a consolation, which often drew tears of joy
“from his eyes.”

He now resumed his theological studies. The vice-legate gave him an apartment in his house, and a place at his table. Thus he became known to several distinguished natives of France, who frequented the house of the vice-legate. The more they knew, the more they admired him; and a negotiation of great importance taking place, between the Roman see and the French monarch, it was entrusted to Vincent, and he was deputed to the sovereign.

Having arrived at Paris, he fixed his abode in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, near the Hôpital de la Charité, afterwards illustrated by the labours of the celebrated M. Bernard, called the poor priest. Vincent employed all his time, not spent in devotion, in attending the sick in the hospital; administering, in the most edifying manner, both to their spiritual and their temporal wants.

About this time, his virtue was put to a severe trial. Having occasion to travel in the Bourdelois, he lodged at Sore, near the capital of that province. A magistrate of a neighbouring district occupied the same apartment: he was robbed, accused Vincent of the robbery, and was generally believed. Vincent bore the humiliation in silence and patience, and trusted his defence to God; confiding, that, whenever it was agreeable to his divine will, he would make the truth appear. Year after year, the calumny had its believers, and Vincent met with insults in many quarters. Still he possessed his soul in patience; at length the real thief being imprisoned for another offence, confessed the crime. The judge himself

asked pardon of our saint; and made him a public reparation.

In one of his conferences, Vincent related the circumstance, as having happened to a third person. "I knew one," he said, "who was accused by his companion, of having robbed him of some money; he said, simply, that he had not taken it. Finding that the other persisted in the charge, he turned his heart to God, and said, 'O Lord what shall I do? Thou knowest the truth.' Then, trusting in him, he resolved to give no more answer to the accusation, though it was spread far and wide. Behold the care which providence has of those who place their trust in her! At a distance of six-and-twenty leagues from the place where the event happened, the thief was discovered, and acknowledged the offence.—O my brethren! let us acknowledge our sins, and when we are falsely accused, trust that God will manifest our innocence in a proper time." "Son," says the teacher of true wisdom, in the *Imitation of Christ**) "stand firm and trust in me;—What are words but words? They fly through the air, but hurt not a stone. If thou art guilty, think that thou wilt amend thyself. If thy conscience accuse thee not, think that thou wilt willingly suffer for God's sake.—Give ear to my word, and thou shalt not value ten thousand words of men. Behold! if all should be said against thee, which the malice of men can invent, what hurt could it do thee, if thou wouldst let it pass, and make no account of it?"—This is true philosophy. Happy, even in this life, are all who practise it! In their patience they possess their souls.

In 1611, Vincent was appointed to the curacy of Clichy, a village at a distance of about a league from Paris, and discharged, in the most edifying manner, all

* Book iii. ch. 46.

the duties of his station.—By frequent sermons, conveying the most solid instruction, in a familiar style; by catechetical discourses, regular attendance in the tribunal of penance, and punctual celebration of the holy mysteries, he formed his flock to pious and moral duty. He visited the sick, comforted the afflicted, assisted the poor, pacified the litigious, reproved the wicked, and encouraged the good; animating all by the undeviating rectitude and sanctity of his own conduct. Thus he gained every heart. His poor flock looked up to him as their father; the Parisians, who had their villas in the vicinage, revered him as a saint; the neighbouring clergy considered him as their model. The good, which he did, was great.—“In the absence of Vincent,” a doctor of the faculty at Paris said in a letter to one of his friends, “I officiated for him. I found the good people lived, universally, the life of an angel.—When I preached to them, I could not but feel, that I was carrying light to the sun.”

When Vincent first arrived at Clichy, the church was in ruin, and wanted almost the necessary ornaments. By his persuasions, some opulent Parisians rebuilt it, and furnished it with every article of use or ornament, that was necessary for the celebration of the divine mysteries, with that dignity, which the edification of the gospel requires. He established, in his parish, a confraternity in honour of the virgin mother of God, for purposes of religion and charity.

The event now took place, which led Vincent into the career of religious and beneficent exertion, in which he has been seldom equalled, and never surpassed. Philip-Emanuel de Gondi, count de Joigni, general of the gal-
lies of France, commander of the orders of the king, a descendant of an house renowned, even in the time of Charlemagne, for its illustrious origin, was married to

Frances-Margaret de Silly, of the illustrious house of Commercy, one of the most accomplished persons of her time, and distinguished as much by her piety as her birth. They had three sons; the eldest was Duke de Retz, the second died young; the third was the celebrated Coadjutor, who raised himself to such painful pre-eminence, during the trouble of the Fronde. The children being of an age, in which a plan for their education on an enlarged scale was necessary, the countess de Joigni their mother, applied to the celebrated cardinal de Berulle, to recommend some person to whom it might be safely entrusted; he recommended our saint. He had observed his wonderful talents for advancing the glory of God, and the good of man. Determined to draw them from under the bushel, under which they then lay hid, the cardinal persuaded Vincent to quit his curacy, and accept the office of almoner of the count and countess, and the superintendence of the education of their children.

The possessions of the count were very large, his household, numerous, his style of living, magnificent.—Such were the scenes into which Vincent was now called. Transported on a sudden from his humble retirement at Clichy, to a scene of splendor, he laid down to himself four rules,—to live constantly in the presence of God; to avoid mixing with the family and their society as much as possible;—to practise great abstemiousness, —and to avoid all kind of interference in temporal concerns.

He began, by introducing a spirit of piety into every department of the house. But, to use his own expression, he never anticipated the moment of God. He first recommended devotion and virtue, by his instructions from the altar; alluring his readers to it, by shewing the delights and advantages of a religious conduct, in this

life and the next, and withholding them from the neglect of it, by shewing the eternal and temporal woes attending impiety. After these general truths had made a due impression, he descended to particulars. He pointed out, what duty prescribed, and the motives inducing its practice. Meanwhile, his own example enforced powerfully all he said: as he could not recommend a duty, which he himself did not practise. When he recommended devotion, his own incessant prayer was in the eye of every hearer; when he recommended abstemiousness, all recollected his own numerous acts of self-denial; when he inculcated the duty of labour and patience in an humble lot, the hardness of his own life, and his own spirit of forbearance, were visible to all;—and, when he descanted on the happiness of the good, his own habitual serenity, and the peaceful joy, which beamed from his eye, proclaimed, more feelingly than any words can express, the ineffable bliss of the soul where Jesus dwells. By degrees, the face of the house was changed; every day, there was a morning and an evening prayer, and mass was attended by the household. The sacrament of the altar was frequently approached; and general regularity and piety appeared in every department.

In all we have described the pious countless co-operated. The count also was a man both of valour and religion. On one occasion, however, having received an affront, he sent a challenge, and the time and the place for the duel were appointed. By an inconsistency, very strange, but not unusual in the times, of which we are writing, he assisted at mass on the morning of the day fixed for the combat, to pray for the aid of heaven on the sacrilegious combat. Vincent had heard of it,—when mass was over, he advanced to the count; he addressed him in the name of the Divine Being, at whose unbloody sacrifice he had just assisted: he conjured

him, by every motive of religion, to give up the infernal project; and denounced to him the severest inflictions of divine wrath, if he should persist in it. The count was overcome. On the spot, he sent to inform his adversary, that he declined the combat; and avowed his determination, whatever might be the consequence, to abstain from such combats in future.

CHAP. IV.

THE EXERTIONS OF ST. VINCENT FOR THE RELIEF OF THE SLAVES WORKING IN THE GALLIES.

THE duties attached to his office of commander of the royal galleys, often carried the count de Joigni to Marseilles: this gave Vincent, who generally accompanied the count in his journies, an opportunity of viewing that dreadful scene of misery.

As it was then conducted, this mode of punishment bore some analogy to that, inflicted by the sentence of the Roman law, which condemned criminals *ad metalla*, or to work in the public mines. Till the modern improvements in the art of navigation, ships were principally navigated by the oar, and slaves were employed to work them. Captives taken in war were often forced into this service; so that it frequently happened that natives of one country, worked, in a sea fight, the ships of war of her enemy. This was remarkably the case at the engagement off Lepanto, where the ships of the Turks were principally worked by christians, and the christian ships principally worked by the Turks. The ships, in which the criminals were thus employed, served for their prisons: when they were in actual service,

the labours generally reached, and too often exceeded the utmost of human strength, and the whip and the thong were always near to chastise the slightest want of exertion. The miserable objects were chained to their benches; when they were not employed in the manner which we have described, they were perfectly idle. Their food was scanty and bad; the air which they breathed was foul; no attention was shewn either to the sick or the dying; and they were almost entire strangers to the comforts of religion. It often happened, that, when they were condemned to the gallies, they were confined in a neighbouring sea-port, till the gallies were ready to receive them. They were then crowded into dungeons, with very little air or light, and supported on bread and water alone, but with little of either; the air was pestilential, and vermin abounded.

Vincent, being informed of the melancholy condition of these unhappy men, first went himself to view the principal scenes of the misery.—A spectacle of the most shocking kind he had expected to see, but, what he saw far exceeded his expectation. He saw, as he afterwards described, a numerous portion of his fellow creatures consumed by languor and poverty, covered with vermin, cursing their Maker and their fellow creatures, and seemingly abandoned of God and of man.

To relieve them was a duty; how they could be relieved, was the question. In this, as in many other cases, the law, speaking generally, was just, and its provisions humane;—the administration of it unjust and inhuman, and the poor victims were without any practical means of redress.

Vincent began the work of charity, by announcing to the poor sufferers, that he was their friend, and determined to procure them every assistance in his power;

he enquired minutely into their grievances, and consulted with the most considerate among them, what was the most extensive relief to be obtained for them, consistent with the demands of justice. Having obtained their confidence, and opened their hearts, he held out to them the comforts of religion. "God," he told them, "was their only friend; why should they offend the only friend they had? why, by an unavailing fury and resentment, withhold his mercies from them? A few years, a few weeks perhaps, would bring them before his tribunal; and, if used properly, would lead them to the happy mansion, where the inflictions of man do not reach; where they would sing, in the company of the angels, the mercies of God, and his divine praises, for all eternity."

On these soothing topics he repeatedly expatiated: in the mean time, he made the condition of these unhappy men generally known. The bishop of Paris, and probably other prelates, exhorted their clergy to call on the faithful committed to their charge, to co-operate in the good work. Large subscriptions were raised; and the disposal of them entrusted to Vincent. For those, who had not been sent to the galleys, large hospitals were raised, and put under excellent regulations: arrangements equally humane, were established for the service of the slaves. Regular hours, for their meals, for their sleep, their labour,—their prayers too,—were settled: Rules laid down for individual and general cleanliness, and clergymen destined to preach the word of God, and administer the rites of religion to the criminals. The whole service assumed a look of decency and patience, and there was reason to believe that many sanctified their sufferings, and obtained by the good use of them, eternal life. Cardinal Richelieu was struck with the magnitude of the good, which the humble Vincent had

wrought: he announced it to Lewis XIII, his royal master.—His majesty applauded the work, and conferred on Vincent the title of Almoner General of the Gallies of France:

But the good did not rest here :—The service of the gallies fell into such odium, that it became the general practice of the courts of justice, to commute it for personal labour in the public works. The parties were chained, and their labour was long and hard: still, they were in open air; they saw the fair face of nature, and were protected by the public eye, from extraordinary oppression. The term of their bondage was limited, according to the nature of their offence, to three, six, or nine years: these, it was never allowed to exceed, except in cases, where it had been inflicted in lieu of capital punishment. Those, whose diligence and general conduct were exemplary were generally rewarded, by some abridgment of the term, or the severity of their labour. In time, the punishment of actual service in the gallies, became nominal, being universally commuted, for services of the nature, which we have mentioned, in the public works.—Such, in this instance, were the charitable exertions of Vincent: before the recent abolition of the slave trade, it was, perhaps, the noblest triumph ever obtained in the cause of suffering humanity.

Vincent's exertions on behalf of the galley-slaves closed with an act of heroic charity. On one occasion he observed, among the labouring convicts, a young man, seemingly subdued by the sense of his wretchedness, and driven almost to madness, by the thoughts of a family, whom his captivity had deprived of the means of subsistence. Vincent was so affected by the sight of his calamity, that, having no other means of relieving him, he caused himself to be substituted in his place, and bore the chain, and worked in the galley service

unnoticed and unknown, till, at the end of some months, he was discovered. He carried, through life, the honourable marks of the chain.

CHAP. V.

ST. VINCENT'S APOSTOLIC LABOURS IN THE TOWN OF CHATILLON.

1618.

By the advice of cardinal de Berulle, Vincent undertook a spiritual mission, at Chatillon, a considerable town in the Lyonnese. All the writers of his life agree in their accounts of the deplorable state, to which, at the time, of which we are speaking, this town was reduced. The new opinions had been introduced into it from Geneva, and it had been almost entirely neglected by its pastors, so that every rank of its inhabitants discovered a frightful relaxation both of faith and morals.

A zealous clergyman from Lyons, assisted Vincent in the good work of reform. They began it by making themselves thoroughly acquainted with the spiritual disorders, which they wished to remedy. They first preached by the edifying tenor of their own lives; they lodged in the same house; permitted no servant to wait on them; every day rose at five, made a spiritual meditation during half an hour, said the offices of the church together, celebrated the sacred mysteries, regularly catechised the poor children, and finding it difficult to speak to them, so as to be understood, except in the patois, or lowest dialect of the country, they acquired its familiar use. They then began their instructions of persons more ad-

vanced in years, and of the middle and higher ranks of life. They divided the town into districts, and visited one of them every day. Their attendance on the sick was very edifying; and though they had little to give, yet, by giving that little thriftily, they did considerable good. The clergy of the district, was roused from their lethargy, and were led, by degrees, to co-operate with Vincent in his holy labours: by degrees, he brought them to live in community, to have regular hours for prayer, study, meals, and missionary labour. Insensibly the town changed its face; the higher ranks promoted religion and industry; the lower was pious and laborious.

While it was in the state of improvement which has been mentioned, the town of Chatillon was visited both by pestilence and famine. The exertions of Vincent and his pious companions then knew no bounds. They were incessantly employed in procuring subsistence for the living, and administering spiritual aid to the dying: Their conduct was beheld with general admiration, and their example, which speaking generally, was only admired by the gentlemen, was imitated by the ladies of Chatillon. These constructed tents, helped the sick to them, and carried them their food and their medicines; it was equally wonderful and edifying to behold ladies of every rank incessantly employed in this dangerous and laborious exertion: their fervour continued unabated while the dreadful visitation lasted;—the apostolic labours of St. Vincent then resumed their regular train.

CHAP. VI.

SAINT VINCENT ESTABLISHES THE CONFRATERNITY
OF CHARITY.

ON one occasion, when Vincent was ascending the steps of his pulpit, a lady stopped him, to request that he would recommend to his audience the necessities of a poor family, at the distance of five miles from Chatillon, all the members of which were sick, and in want of the necessaries of life. Vincent did it with zeal and eloquence; and the Almighty gave such weight and force to his words, that as soon as his sermon was ended, numbers, who had heard it, went to visit the poor family, carrying them bread, wine, and other provisions. Vincent himself proceeded to the poor family, and, seeing the abundance of good things, which had been taken to them, "This," he said, "is a good deed; but not well regulated. The sick family have received on a sudden too great a supply of provision; some part of it will prove useless. What will not be immediately consumed must be spoilt and lost; and the poor objects fall again into the like misery."

Vincent had a spirit of arrangement and order. The reflection, which we have mentioned, led him to consider whether a plan might not be devised by which not only that particular family, but every other family in his neighbourhood, which should be visited by the same misery, might be effectually relieved. He discussed the subject with several persons of sense and wealth, and examined it in all its bearings. The result was, that the project was reduced into system, and a set of regulations framed, which were found by experience to answer the object.—
"It would be difficult," says an ocular witness, "to give

"a full detail of all the good which it produced, the comfort which it afforded to the poor, or the spiritual blessings, by which it was attended."

The inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, perceiving the good which it wrought, established similar associations; and several towns in Lorraine, Savoy, and Italy, imitated their example.

Such was the conduct of Vincent at Chatillon; it made a lasting impression on the inhabitants.—During the process of Vincent's canonization, commissioners, as is usual in these cases, were sent to every place, in which he had resided, to make minute enquiries respecting his conduct. When they arrived at Chatillon, and announced the object of their mission, every one had something to say in praise of Vincent. Having signified that it was their intention to proceed to other places, to make similar enquiries; "That," exclaimed the good people, "is perfectly unnecessary; Vincent did good enough *among us* to canonize any one man."

The exertions of Vincent in behalf of the galley slaves, and his missionary labours in the town of Chatillon, necessarily withdrew him from his attendance on the family of Gondi, and both M. de Gondi and the countess de Joigni lamented his absences; the latter acquiesced in them only on receiving from him a solemn promise, that he would attend on her at her death. In 1626, he was called upon to perform his promise. In this year, the countess, still in the flower of life, but ripe for heaven, terminated her mortal course, in sentiments of resignation, pious hope, and humble confidence. "The tears," says one of the biographers of Vincent, "with which the good and the poor watered her grave, are, almost of themselves, a sufficient panegyric. Great by her birth, and the alliances by which she was united to the most illustrious houses in Europe; she was still greater by

"her tender piety, her care of her family, her compassion for the unhappy, and her zeal for the salvation of souls. Her own merit entitles her to a place among the most edifying characters which France has produced; but her early patronage of Vincent, and the assistance which she gave to his early enterprises, cast on her some share of those beams which encircle his name."

The task of communicating the afflicting intelligence of her death to her husband was assigned to Vincent. He began it by mentioning to him her serious illness; he dwelt on her extraordinary merit, on the great blessing which heaven had conferred on him by such a wife; of the gratitude due from him to the Dispenser of every good for so great a favour; he then observed that conformity to the Divine will was the greatest tribute of gratitude which man could offer;—that a humble and resigned sacrifice to it, of an object justly and deservedly dear, was the best proof of this holy spirit of resignation. "Such a spirit," said Vincent, "you are now called upon to exert,—God requires of you to resign with humility your pious consort to him, for whom alone she now lives."—With an agonized heart, M. de Gondi received the afflicting information; he bore his loss as a man and a christian. He experienced from Vincent the most soothing attentions. When the will of the countess was opened, it was found to contain the most respectful mention of Vincent. She recommended her children to him, conjured them to obey him in all things, and assured them that a due attention to his advice would insure the blessing of heaven on them and their families.

It was greatly the wish of M. de Gondi to retain Vincent in his family: but Vincent having other views, retired from Joigni with the respect and good will of all its inhabitants. As soon as the children no longer stood

in need of his care, M. de Gondi himself quitted the world, and entered into the congregation of the Oratorians,—he remained in it till his death,—a period of about thirty-five years:—while he lived in the world he signalized himself, by his courage and loyalty:—in his retirement, he was pleasing to God and man, by his regularity, humility, patience and piety.

Previously to the time, of which we are now speaking, Vincent having occasion to pass near Pouy, the place of his nativity, visited his family. He took up his abode at the house of the curate of the village; then called on several of his relations. He assisted with them, at the offices of the church, said mass to them, and then assembled them all. Though he was then far from having attained the celebrity, which afterwards attended him, he yet was highly honoured; and from this circumstance his family generally formed great hopes of their own advancement in life. Vincent thought it incumbent on him to disabuse them. He mentioned to them, that he was still poor, and that it was his determination to live and to die poor: that it was unlikely, that he should ever obtain preferment; that, if it should fall in his way, he should consider himself conscientiously bound to bestow among the poor, all that should remain of his income, after providing him with the necessaries of life. "This," he said, "was the duty of every clergyman; and money," he observed, "that was given by ecclesiastics to their families, seldom prospered."—It has been stated, that the father of Vincent had been greatly induced to have Vincent educated for the church, by the example of a clergyman, who had obtained a priory in the neighbourhood, and had enriched his family from its revenues. Vincent called the attention of his hearers, to the actual situation of the family of the prior; all then in a state of want. Finally, he conjured them to remain contented

with the lot in which it had pleased Providence that they should be born ; and in which, probably Providence wished them to continue ; while they did this, and acted with honesty and piety, they might, he observed to them, expect the blessing of God.

With these words he took his leave of them : he was much affected, and the remembrance of the scene dwelt long upon his remembrance.—At a subsequent time, hearing they were in great distress, he distributed among them, a legacy which had been bequeathed to him, of about one hundred pounds English money. This, and a present of a few shillings, which he once made to his brother, was, notwithstanding millions passed through his hands, all the temporal aid, which his family received from him ; but he was ever attentive to their spiritual welfare.

The advice, which he gave his family, made a strong impression on them, and appears to have been perpetuated among their descendants. It is said, that to this present time, they have cherished their humble lot, tilling the earth with cheerfulness, and content in decent poverty, and aspiring to no higher occupation.

CHAP. VII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE PRIESTS OF THE MISSION.

THE residence of St. Vincent on the estates of the countess of Joigni, placed immediately under his eye and observation, the condition of the labouring peasantry ; in respect to their religious concerns, it had been greatly ameliorated in the reign of Lewis XIV. ; but, even then,

Fleury, the celebrated church historian, saw cause to lament the general ignorance which prevailed among them. The names of Moses, of David, of Peter and Paul, and of some other remarkable persons, he observes, are known to them ; but beyond these, their knowledge of the Old or New Testament seldom reaches. Yet a familiar acquaintance with it is important both to christian knowledge and christian feelings. The morality of the sacred volume is illustrated, and the motives both of belief and obedience, are enforced by its history : with this, therefore, it is highly desirable that every order of the faithful should be acquainted. To diffuse this knowledge, Fleury composed his Historical Catechism, a work of such transcendent merit, that, if an intelligent person were required to mention the work, which should be placed nearest to the sacred writings, and which, after these, could be least spared, he would mention, without hesitation, this small but golden volume. It is greatly to be lamented, that few peruse it, after they quit childhood ; there is no age, in which it may not be read with advantage. Those, in particular, whose library, from inclination or circumstances is small, should assign it a place next to their prayer books, and use it almost as frequently.

The circumstance, which led to the establishment of the Congregation, of which our subject now leads us to speak, was, the attendance which Vincent gave to a poor tenant of the countess de Joigni, in his last illness. The poor man was in great dismay, at the near approach of death, but declared he should die happily if he could but confer with Vincent. His conscience was, it seems, burthened with a crime, the mention of which, from a false shame, he had omitted in former confessions. Vincent was accordingly sent for. By his gentleness and pious exhortations, Vincent induced him, by degrees, to

make a full discovery of his misery; and he had no sooner made it, than, as usually happens on these occasions, the poor man felt himself immediately discharged of a weight of woe. The countess de Joigni calling upon him, as she usually did on all her sick tenants, "O my good mistress," he cried out in a transport of joy, "how great are the mercies of God!—I was a lost soul, "if his goodness had not sent Vincent to me!"—After due preparation, Vincent gave him the bread of life; and at the end of a few days he expired, blessing, with his latest breath, the mercies of God, who had sent Vincent to him.

The circumstance made a great impression on the pious countess. "What have we seen! What have we heard!" she exclaimed; "the case of this man may be that of many other of my tenants. What, at this moment, would have been the state of this poor man, "if he had not been attended by Vincent! what may be theirs, if they have not similar attendance!"

It was agreed between the countess and Vincent, that, on the following day, which was on the 25th of January, the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, Vincent should preach in the church of Folleville. "I represented to my hearers," he says, in an account which was afterwards published, "the importance and utility of a general confession, and the method of making it properly; "and it pleased God to give a blessing to my discourse; "all the good people were so affected by what I said, "that all would make their general confession. I continued my instructions, but the number of those, who presented themselves for confession, was so great, that I, and a good priest, who assisted me, did not suffice to hear them. The countess applied to the fathers of the society of Jesus, established at Amiens, for further aid; "the rector himself came to us, and he being obliged,

“some time after to quit us, deputed father Fourché in his place. By the grace of God we had plenty of occupation : we transported ourselves successively into other villages, within the estates of the countess, and “every where God was pleased to bless our exertions.”—Such was the beginning of the great work, which we are now relating. On every subsequent year, this memorable day, the feast, as we have mentioned, of the conversion of St. Paul, was celebrated by Vincent, and his spiritual children, with great solemnity and devotion : but at this time, he was far from foreseeing its extensive consequences.

The blessings, with which this first mission of Vincent, if it deserves that name, was attended, made both him and the count and countess of Joigni desirous, that the same exertions should be extended and perpetuated. But this was not the work of a day ; much was to be considered, much to be provided for ; a fixed residence was to be procured, the higher powers both of church and state were to co-operate, and above all, a sufficient number of workmen in the holy vineyard was to be obtained. To effect this, much exertion, and much patience were necessary. At length, in 1625, the outline of the project was arranged. 1st. The countess de Joigni advanced 16,000 livres for the foundation of the establishment : 2d. It was settled, that the object of the institution was to provide for a regular succession of religious missions among the poor ;—which missions, once in every five years, were to make the estate of the Joigni the seat of their labours : 3d. The Colledge des Bons Enfants, and afterwards the Priory of St. Lazarus, a spacious and roomy mansion, was procured for them : 4th. The institution was approved by the archbishop of Paris in April 1626 : 5th. In the following month of September the act of foundation was signed : 6th. In January 1632, the

congregation was formally approved by Urban VIII.; this approbation was confirmed at different times by subsequent pontiffs : 7th. The congregation was afterwards incorporated, first by Lewis XIII. and afterwards by Lewis XIV., his immediate successor. Vincent lived to see the establishment of twenty-five houses of his congregation, and the members of it sanctifying themselves and edifying their neighbours, in most parts of the habitable globe. "All," Vincent used to say at the close of his life, when he contemplated the success of his labours,—“All is the work of God ! In 1626, the whole congregation consisted of poor M. de Portail, three obscure priests, and myself. Behold it now spread over the whole world ! It is the work of God ! Let us bless his holy name !”

CHAP. VIII.

THE ORIGINAL DESIGN OF THE PRIESTS OF THE CONGREGATION FOR RELIGIOUS MISSIONS:—

1. GENERAL VIEW OF THEIR MISSIONARY LABOURS:—2. SPIRITUAL EXERCISES FOR PERSONS ENGAGING IN HOLY ORDERS:—3. SPIRITUAL RETREATS:—4. CLERICAL SEMINARIES.

THE congregation, which Vincent established, is to be considered as a body of secular clergy, subject, in every respect, and for every purpose, to the jurisdiction of the diocesan prelate. They are distinguished in their dress from the secular clergy, by a very trifling peculiarity in the band, worn by ecclesiastics in France, round the neck, and by a small tuft of beard, which remained unshaven. They take the four simple vows of

poverty, chastity, obedience and stability. The superior of their order has the appellation of general; and, except in extreme cases, is absolute. Preaching and teaching the word of God, and administering the sacraments of the church to the peasantry, in their missions, was the object of the congregation. The house of St. Lazare at Paris, was the principal seat of the order; there the general usually resided; and the members of the order received from it the name of LAZARISTS. When other houses were established, the conduct of the missions in the neighbouring country was assigned to them: but these were all subject to the direction and controul of the general.

Speaking generally, each house consisted of the superior, of instructors, of scholars, and of priests ready to serve or actually serving on a mission. Every day they rose at four, then proceeded to the church, and gave an hour to pious meditation, all heard mass, and employed some further time in spiritual reading, and made three different spiritual examinations of their consciences. Their meals were taken in common, and, except during a short interval which was allowed for conversation, they observed a rigid silence. Their studies were limited to the acquisition of that knowledge, which would be useful to them in the discharge of their missionary labours; they were rigidly withheld from giving any of their time or attention to the higher or more elegant branches of literature. "These," Vincent used to say, "should be cultivated in the church of Christ; but they should not be cultivated by us. There is no rank so exalted, with whom some minister of God, should not be qualified to converse in a manner acceptable to them; no audience so polished, whom some preachers of the gospel should not be qualified to address; no subject so profound or extensive, upon which some ecclesias-

"ties should not be able to render an account of their faith; but, with these we have no concern: we are to converse with the poor and the ignorant." These lessons were uniformly followed by Vincent's spiritual children; it is said, that *an author* never rose among them. In this spirit, when an application was made to Vincent to permit, one of his body, who was profoundly versed in the oriental languages, to assist in the publication of a Syriac version of the New Testament, with a translation of it, he refused the application: not that he thought such an employment was not serviceable to religion, or ought not to be encouraged; but because he thought it was a more proper occupation for others. "What signifies," says the author of the Imitation of Christ, "making a great dispute about abstruse and obscure matters; for not knowing of which we shall not be questioned, at the day of judgment?—What need we concern ourselves about questions of philosophy? He, to whom the eternal word speaketh, is set at liberty from a multitude of opinions." No one appears to have been more convinced of the truth of this doctrine, or of its practical results, than Vincent.

Such was the general spirit of a house of the Congregation of the priests of the mission; we shall successively give some view,—1st, Of their missionary labours; 2d. Of their spiritual exercises for persons engaging in holy orders; 3dly, Of their clerical seminaries; 4thly, Of their spiritual conferences; and 5thly, Of their spiritual retreats for the general body of the faithful.

VIII. 1.

Missionary labours.

THE priests of the congregation were employed, throughout eight months in every year in missions

among the poor peasantry. They spent the remaining four in some house of the congregation, in employments more or less connected with the objects of their missions; but eight days, in every year, were constantly assigned to a spiritual retreat, during which all their employments, and even their studies, were suspended, and prayer, meditations, and examination of conscience, were their sole occupation.

A mission, in the sense in which we now use that word, is a public exercise of ecclesiastical duty, on the following plan. A certain number of priests, but never less than two for one mission, undertook, by the direction of their superior, to preach and teach the word of God, and administer the sacraments, within the precinct of one or more villages, for a certain portion of time, never less than fifteen days, and generally not exceeding a month. They were never undertaken without a previous permission of the bishop; or without a particular and express permission of the curate: where either was refused, the missionaries were enjoined to retire quietly, modestly, and without expostulation. They were strictly forbidden to receive any remuneration, under any form, except lodging and sustenance from the curate, or from some inhabitant of sufficient circumstances to afford it without injury or inconvenience to himself or his family: they might impart their religious succours to the affluent, but the poor were always to be considered the principal object of their labours, and, in every competition, for their time or care, to be preferred. "We preach the gospel to the poor," was both the motto and the practice of the congregation.

At an hour, before the time prescribed, by the custom of the country, for the commencement of the labour of the peasantry, the missionary day was opened by a sermon.—Half an hour after noon, being the time assigned

to the poor for their meals, the children were assembled to be taught their catechism; in the evening, a second sermon was preached, or, which Vincent greatly preferred, a solemn catechism was given to the adult. Five hours in every morning, four in every afternoon, the missionary remained in his confessional:—whether it was attended or not, was immaterial; there, he was to remain—he was only permitted to leave it, to assist the sick, or to administer the sacraments to the dying, or for some other circumstance of imperious necessity.

The sermons were to be short, the style of them familiar, extraordinary exertions of voice or action to be avoided. Such, according to the observation of Vincent, was the predication of Christ. He remarks, that the style of Christ is more simple than the style of St. Peter, or of St. Paul. Sermons of exhibition, he used to say, were frequently composed and delivered with too much self-complacency. “I knew,” he writes in one of his letters, “a good jesuit, “a man of a holy life, who, after preaching several years “before the court, was visited, in his sixtieth year, by a “sickness, which brought him within an inch of the “grave. God then revealed to him, how much vanity “and uselessness there was in most of the polished “and studied discourses of which his sermons had consisted. At the sight of it, his remorse was great; and, “recovering from his illness, he intreated his superiors “to employ him, from that time, in catechising the “village poor. Having worked in this humble station “during twenty years, he died in peace. Just before “he expired, he begged that the walking-stick, which “he carried about with him, in his village duty, might “be buried with him, in order, (to use his own words), “that it might bear testimony of his having quitted the “court, to honour Jesus, in the persons of the poor.” Hearing that one of his priests used a pompous mode of

enunciation in his preaching;—"Do learn," Vincent said to him, in a letter expressly written to him on this head, "to lower your voice. Our Lord blesses discourses made in an ordinary and familiar tone; because it is that in which he himself always preached and taught: it is more natural, and more easy, the people like it much better, and derive more good from it. Would you believe it!—a person, who was formerly on the stage, and is now under my care, informs me, that the comedians have at length discovered, that a natural is to be preferred to a pompous articulation, and have therefore abandoned their former inflated tones and gestures, and adopted those which are natural. Now, if a wish to please the world, has led the actors to this improvement, what a confusion it should be to the ministers of the altar, not to imbibè the same spirit of improvement, in the service of Christ!

"I hear you prefer preaching in the evening to instructing the adult in their catechism. I am sorry for it: 1. One sermon has been already preached in the morning to them, a second sermon, therefore, is not quite necessary; 2. The peasantry, speaking generally, prefer catechetical instructions, and profit more by them; 3. Our Saviour adopted this familiar style of address, and used it to teach and convert the world; 4. It is the general practice of the order; it gives a greater opportunity of practising humility, and God appears to bless it."

"I return thanks to God," he writes in another letter, "for the blessings which he has vouchsafed to the late sermons of the jesuits during the late jubilee. I hope their example will confirm you in the custom of never speaking in public, but with simplicity, humility, and charity. This is the greatest secret to be found for

“insuring success to sermons: the contrary practice
“wearies the patience of the hearer, and fills the speaker
“with vanity.”

In their conduct towards heretics, and in their communications with them, he directed his missionaries to observe the greatest gentleness, to banish from their disputes, all acrimony, offensive raillery, satirical and bitter expressions; to abstain from all contumelious and insulting expressions.—“Learned men,” he used to say, “can gain no ground upon the devil by pride, because he has more pride than they; but they may ever conquer him by humility, as he has no such weapon.” He disliked controversial sermons; and only allowed topics of controversy to be treated from the pulpit, when they were immediately suggested by the gospel of the day. “I am sorry,” he wrote to a missionary sailing for Madagascar, “that there are so many heretics on board your ship: but it is the will of God. Perhaps, it is to oblige you to watch more carefully over yourself; to be more humble, more devout, more charitable, that they may see the beauty and holiness of our religion, and thus be excited to return to it. You must avoid disputes and invectives; be patient and forbearing, even where they attack you, or our religion and practices. Virtue is so lovely and amiable, that they will be forced to love it in you, if you practise it well. All the services which your knowledge of surgery enables you to render to the companions of your voyage, you should exert, without distinction of persons, indiscriminately to the catholic and the huguenot, that those may see that you love them in God.”

But he wished that his missionaries should be thoroughly instructed in polemic divinity, that they might be enabled to render, on suitable occasions, a proper account of their faith.

He strongly exhorted the missionaries not to be discouraged by want of success. "Labour, not success, is required by God: he orders you to cast your net into the sea, but does not order you to take fish; it is for him to lead them into it. Never despair: always confide, that, if you labour through the night, notwithstanding the difficulty of the enterprise, and the obduracy of hearts,—asleep, as it were, in respect to God,—still, if you expect his hours with patience, the sun of justice will waken, will enlighten, will warm them. To this labour, to this patience, you must add humility, prayer and good example, and, by degrees, you will see the glory of the Lord.—Consider, how often the success which attended the labours of Jesus Christ, was small and tardy. By his first sermon, St. Peter converted 5,000; but we find that Jesus acquired his disciples, one by one, and with great labour."

The fruits of the missions were great; wherever they moved, they produced piety, regularity, the frequent use of the sacraments, peace among families, amicable adjustments of litigation, kindness from the lord to his vassals, respect and submission from the vassals to their lord, restitution, abstinence from spirituous liquors, and an increase of industry.

The missionaries were particularly attentive to prepare children for their first communion: with that pious ceremony the mission generally closed. On the preceding evening, all the inhabitants of the village were assembled; the proposed communicants were placed before them; the missionary, in the most feeling terms, which he could find, announced to them, the happiness which awaited them on the following day;—when, in the sight of God and his angels, they were to receive the Lamb without spot.—When the hour of communion

came, they approached, together, the sacred table. After the services, they walked two by two in procession, out of the church, each holding, in his hand, a sacred taper: when it closed, they received the final blessings of the missionaries. On the same day, the missionaries said a mass for the repose of the souls of the ancestors of the villagers;—thus identifying themselves, as it were, in a manner with them;—they then took their final leave.

To give a stability to the good done by them, the missionaries generally established, in each scene of their labours, a pious confraternity, the members of which bound themselves to certain pious observances, and exertions of charity; and placed themselves under the protection of the virgin mother of Christ.

We shall not attempt to particularize the different missions undertaken by the direction of Vincent: but it would be very wrong not to mention, that his missionaries found their way both into Ireland and the Hebrides, and that, in each, they rendered essential services to those, to whom they were sent. In the exercise of his functions, and for no other offence, one of them was shot near Limerick by a soldier of the republican army. Several missionaries sunk under their fatigues; the few, who returned to France, took to it with them the blessings of the poor among whom they had resided, and grateful testimonials of the excellence of their conduct from their prelates.

We have mentioned the complete submission of the congregation, and of all its members, to the hierarchy. It was as complete in practice as in theory. There never was an instance, in which, either the first or second order of the clergy complained that a lazarist missionary had invaded his rights, or had been wanting in submission or respect to him. The word "exemption" was never heard from their lips.

The only objection, made to the missions, was, that according to the constitution of the congregation, the period, during which the missionaries continued in any one place, was too short to produce effectual good. The period, it was replied, of the mission, was short, but the consequences were permanent. A first communion well made, a full reconciliation of a sinner with his offended God, a general spirit of piety and regularity once introduced into a whole village, does not quickly evaporate:—in all events, the seeds of good were sown, it remained for the established clergy to fructify them, and perpetuate the good.—The clergy too were benefited by the missionaries; much of the missionary's spirit he left behind him; even the most torpid were animated by his example.

Such was the good produced by the missions of Vincent and his disciples. It appears, that 700 missions were accomplished by them, in the life-time of Vincent: his mantle descended to his successors; and, till the general wreck of all that was good, in the French revolution, the missions were prosecuted on the same plan, were conducted with the same fervour, and produced the same good, as they had done in their earliest years.

It remains to add, that, when these active men returned from their missions, to the house of the congregation, they returned to prayer, to solitude, and study. "Our life," says Vincent, in a letter written by him in 1631, "is, in the midst of Paris, almost the life of a carthusian. Scarcely any one has any concern with us; we concern ourselves with none; our solitude makes us sigh for our missions, our missions for our solitude. The life of a missionary, when he is in a house of the congregation, should resemble that of a recluse, in the same manner, as, when he is on a mission, it should resemble that of an apostle. In proportion as

“ he labours in retirement for his own spiritual advancement, he is likely to succeed in his labours for the spiritual advancement of others.”

VIII. 2.

Spiritual exercises for persons entering into holy orders.

IN the eye of a true christian, the ecclesiastical state is the most noble and most elevated rank to be attained on earth. To form good priests, was one of the occupations of the son of God. “ A priest,” says the author of the Imitation of Christ, “ ought to be adorned with all virtue, and to give example of good life to others. His conversation should not be with the vulgar and common ways of men, but with the angels in heaven, or with perfect men on earth.—When a priest celebrates, he honours God, rejoices the angels, edifies the church, helps the living, obtains rest for the dead, and makes himself partaker of all that is good.”

Thus St. Francis of Sales, St. Charles Borromeo, the venerable Bartholomew de Martyribus—thus every other holy and distinguished person, with whose sentiments on this subject we are acquainted, have expressed themselves on the dignity and sacred character of the priesthood. Hence, proceeded the caution, with which they admitted persons into holy orders.

We have mentioned the deplorable state of the clergy at the time in which Vincent came into active life. In a conversation, upon this subject, between him and the bishop of Beauvais, the latter observed, that “ it was too late to think of the antient priests; they were past remedy: all, that could then be done, was to raise a

“better generation :—but what,” continued the prelate, “are we to do with those, who now offer themselves for “holy orders?”—After a silence of a few minutes,—“We must keep them,” he said, “in pious solitude, in prayer, “and meditation, and absolutely estranged from the “world for a few days, at least ;—to dispose them, in “some measure, for the divine favour.”—“The design “is good,” says Vincent, “it comes from heaven ; let “us consider of the best means for carrying it into “heaven.” By the desire of the prelate, Vincent immediately turned his thoughts to the subject, and committed them to writing. The bishop approved them, and a beginning was made at Beauvais to carry the plan into execution : the effects were most salutary, and most sensibly felt. The archbishop of Paris was so struck with them, that he established a general rule throughout his diocese, that all who took orders in it, should prepare themselves for them, by a retreat of ten days, in the collège de Bons Enfants, then the seat of the congregation at Paris. The example of the archbishop was imitated by other prelates, and, by degrees, the houses of the congregation were open to all, who, with testimonials from their bishop, presented themselves to make a spiritual retreat, previously to their ordination. During ten complete days, they were lodged and boarded at the expense of the establishment. A succession of prayer and instruction occupied their time. The decalogue was succinctly, but accurately explained to them ; and they were minutely taught and practised in the ceremonial of the ritual. Almost all made a general confession.

To their accommodation, Vincent habitually sacrificed the convenience of his own charge ; and encouraged his disciples to make such sacrifice cheerfully and affectionately. The expense was heavy : and more than once,

prudence seemed to suggest the necessity of discontinuing the undertaking ; but it was blessed by heaven ; and prospered to the last.

VIII. 3.

Clerical Seminaries.

AN object, which Vincent had much at heart, was to establish a permanent institution, for raising a numerous portion of pious, well-instructed, and zealous ecclesiastics for parochial duty. Two plans presented themselves. The first was recommended by the council of Trent : By this, youths of promising dispositions were to be selected at a very early age ; separated from the world, and, in a happy ignorance of its vices and vanities, to be brought up in piety, instructed in divine and human learning, and afterwards admitted, at a proper age, into the ecclesiastical state. According to the other plan, those were to be selected, who had finished the studies of humanity, and had discovered, in their conduct, confirmed habits of devotion, religion, and regularity, and an aptitude to acquire the learning necessary for a priest. For however Vincent preferred piety to literature ; however, with the author of the *Imitation of Christ*, he might exclaim, “ Of what importance is science, without the fear of God ? ”—he yet knew, that, as a priest is to instruct others, he must himself be well instructed ; and that an ignorant clergyman is little calculated to discharge with fruit, the duties of the sacred ministry. After weighing both plans with attention, he gave the preference to the latter ; it appearing, after great inquiry, that, of the boys who are educated for the church, from tender years, the number of those,

who embrace the ecclesiastical state, is surprisingly small. On this occasion, the archbishop of Rouen mentioned, that though he had educated, with the greatest precaution, a multitude of young men from their tender years, in hopes of their afterwards taking to the church, he could not reckon more than six, who had entered its service.

The plan being agreed upon, Vincent erected his seminary. Philosophy and theology were taught in it; but not more of the former than was necessary to qualify the student for acquiring the latter: and the latter was confined to solid instruction in the history, the morality, and the dogma of the church, the exact celebration of its rites, and the administration of its sacraments. Year after year was spent in the acquisition of this useful knowledge. "What!" he used to exclaim, with the celebrated M. Bourdoise:—"the lowest trades require an apprenticeship; and can five or six months be thought sufficient to form men for a dignity, for which they can only be qualified by having purified themselves from all vicious habits, from all inordinate love of the creature; by having made great advances in divine love, by having acquired a feeling knowledge of the saving truths of eternal life, by having established in their souls the reign of truth and justice, and a constant habit of prayer,—what a sword is to a soldier, prayer," he used to say, "is to a priest."

Some objected to Vincent, that the erection of a seminary for the education of priests was beside his original plan, which was expressly confined to the instruction of the poor.—"I hope," said the humble man, "that we walk, however immeasurable the distance from Jesus may be, in his footsteps. At first, he hid himself in obscurity, then he announced his gospel to the poor. Finally, he chose and instructed the apostles.

"Imitating him, we lived at first for our own sanctification, then we evangelized the poor, now we form pastors for them.

"O my Saviour!" he sometimes exclaimed, "how great is the importance of a priest! The good he may do, how great! the evil he may do, how incalculable! How should the poor missionaries exert themselves to form good ecclesiastics. No task is so difficult, so sublime, so weighty; nothing contributes so much to the salvation of souls, to the advancement of christianity. No money is so well spent as that employed in forming a good priest. To enrich the fold of Christ with a good ecclesiastic, is to enrich the poor: he will even be a father to them, and repay to them an hundredfold what he himself has received from the charity of the faithful."

The good, produced by the seminary established by Vincent, was so visible, that the institution was adopted by every prelate in France, so that a seminary became as ordinary an appendage of a bishopric, as a palace: some were better regulated than others, but all did great good.

VIII. 4.

Spiritual conferences.

To preserve the pious fervour kindled at the seminary, and to excite its holy inmates, after they should come into the world, to live up to the resolution which they had formed, Vincent established regular conferences among them and other ecclesiastics, on religious subjects, connected with their holy calling. He was led to this plan, by perusing the relations which have come to us of the pious conferences of the fathers of the desert.

The ecclesiastics, who formed this religious association, were to continue members of it as long as they observed its rules. These were few ; Every day the members of it were to rise at four, to meditate on some pious subject, during half an hour at the least, to celebrate the sacred mysteries, to read, on his knees and bare-headed, one chapter of the New Testament ; and to make an examination of his conscience before dinner ; and after it, to give some time to the perusal of a pious book. Each of the rules was to give way to a pressing call of duty, but, with this exception, all were to be inviolably observed. The object of the association was to tender honor to the life of the son of God, his eternal priesthood, his holy family, and his love for the poor. These, in the chief employments of the day, they were to bring explicitly into their recollections. They were to assemble on a place, fixed for the purpose, on every Tuesday ; those who were so disposed, might speak on any subject relating to the functions and duties of ecclesiastics, the motives which incite them to virtue, and the dangers to which they were exposed. But the discourse was to be short, without any gesticulation, or affectation of eloquence. The members of the association were to have age and experience ; others might attend, but those only were allowed to speak.

The effects of the association were most edifying ; the founders of the community of St. Sulpice, and of the community for foreign missions, twenty-three of the most distinguished prelates of France, a prodigious multitude of vicars-general, canons, curates, directors of seminaries, and other persons who edified France by their piety and their zeal, were members of the pious association. They were useful to every rank of life, but they chiefly attached themselves to the poor. In the poorest

quarters of Paris, in its hospitals and prisons, some were always to be found.

At the time, of which we are speaking, the Fauxbourg St. Germain was the receptacle of whatever was most wicked, most lawless, most hardened, and most filthy, in Paris. Even in the day time it was unsafe to pass through it, and at night none ventured into it besides its wretched inmates and their associates; the process of the law could not be served without a military escort.

Afflicted by this combination of wickedness and misery, but undismayed by its terrors, some members of the pious association of the conferences repaired, in their clerical dress, to the spot, and announced to the inhabitants that they were come to dwell among them, and that their object was to reconcile them to God, the best, and perhaps the only friend, who was left to them. At first they were viewed with astonishment, soon with favour, and before long, as angels from heaven. Then they parcelled out the district among them; a portion of it was assigned to each; the missionaries laboured without intermission, the grace of God worked with them, and, at the end of two years, industry, piety, and regularity were restored to the Fauxbourg St. Germain. A pious tradesman, in the neighbourhood, without a family, or any near relatives, was so struck with the change, that he offered the missionaries his whole fortune, on condition they would form themselves into a distinct association, and continue their labours. His offer they refused; but they assured him, that, in those, or similar labours, they would persevere till the end of their lives.

VIII. 5.

Spiritual retreats.

IN every age of Christianity, both the just man and the sinner have been recommended to make temporary separations from the world; and to dedicate some days to prayer and pious meditation, in solitude and silence. The system, into which this has been introduced, by the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius, is one of the many obligations which we owe to that great man and his disciples. The good effected by these exercises did not escape the observation of Vincent; after much deliberation, he formed an establishment for similar exercises, on a very large scale, at the House of the Congregation, at Paris, and it was imitated in several of their other houses. There, all who were known to any of the members of the community, or who presented themselves, with any thing like a recommendation, were received, lodged and boarded, during ten days, on making a solemn promise, on their admission, to observe the rules of the establishment, and remain in it, during the term of the retreat. If they offered a retribution, a small sum of money was received; but none was asked for, or discovered to be expected. No distinction of rank was shewn, either at the reception, or in the treatment of the persons who engaged in the retreat, so that the cordon bleu, the officer, the private, the ecclesiastic, the barrister, the tradesman, and the domestic, often met at St. Lazarus, were served in the same refectory, slept in the same dormitory, and knelt and prayed in the same rank. All rose at an early hour, and said together a morning prayer; were employed in some spiritual exercise till they assembled for mass; after mass they break-

fasted; then assembled in the church, where a meditation on some important truth of christianity was read to them; but after each sentence, the priest who presided over the meditation, suggested the sentiments which it should raise, and then paused, for a few minutes, to let them make a due impression on the hearers. At the close of the meditation, he suggested the resolutions which the hearers should form, in consequence of the pious sentiments and affections which had occurred to them during the meditation. These, in the first instance, were general; then, descended, as far as could be done in a promiscuous assembly, into particulars; these, in a private conference with each individual, were still more minutely directed; for Vincent frequently remarked, that however proper it may be to begin with general resolutions, little good is to be expected, if the person who makes them does not apply them to his own particular case, to his own habits, and to his own individual circumstances. A similar public meditation was made in the afternoon, and the day closed with an evening prayer. The other parts of the day, except the hours of meals, were employed in other spiritual exercises. The meals were taken in a public refectory; a book was read while they lasted; and, except for a short time after dinner, absolute silence was observed throughout the day. Almost all made to the priests a general confession of all the sins of their lives; and, finally, received the communion.

Some objected to these retreats, that the labour was great, the expense excessive, the good uncertain. "Many," Vincent replied, "very many are served by them. But, after all, how many neglect to avail themselves of the passion and death of Christ. Yet, O great and merciful God! Though thou foresawest all this, thou wouldst die for their salvation! Grant us grace to imitate thy example. Thou diedst for all!

"Let all be welcome to us! Let there be no acceptance of persons! Let the poor be as dear to us as the rich." The disciples of Vincent caught his holy flame. It appears from the accounts of the house, that during the twenty-five last years of Vincent's life, 20,000 different persons, or about 800 persons in every year, had made their spiritual retreats in the manner which has been mentioned, at the house of St. Lazarus. The good effects of them were great; cardinals, bishops, priests, and curates, addressed letters to Vincent, thanking him for the good which both the shepherds and the flocks had received from them. But it is idle to produce testimonials in favour of the good effects of this institution; every christian must be sensible how much good ten days spent in the manner we have described, must have produced,—how greatly they would

———"Remove the stony from the heart,
"And make new flesh regenerate grow."

Par. Lost, XI. 8.

CHAP. IX.

SAINT VINCENT'S OTHER ESTABLISHMENTS OF CHARITY.

WE pass to other acts of Vincent's charity. We shall premise some account of mademoiselle le Gras, his eminent co-operator in several of them; we shall then successively mention the Institution of the Sisters of Charity,—of a religious community of ladies in support of the sick, in the hospital of the Hotel-Dieu;—and of an hospital for foundlings.

IX. 1.

Mademoiselle le Gras.

THE lady, whom we now introduce to the attention of the reader, was the daughter of Louis de Marillac, a member of a family equally distinguished in the robe and the army. She was eminently accomplished; but from her tenderest years, she devoted herself to piety; and once intended to enter into a religious house of the rigorous order of the capucines. Being withheld from it by weak health, she married M. le Gras, secretary of Mary of Medicis; her kindness to all in want procured for her, in her neighbourhood, the name of *mother of the poor*; she rendered them, in sickness, all the services which an humble and industrious servant could shew them; she waited upon them, dressed their victuals, made their beds, comforted them in their sufferings, instilled sentiments of piety into them, instructed them in the truths of religion, prepared them for the sacraments, and disposed them, during their last illnesses, for their happy passage into eternity. Not long after her marriage, she lost her husband; for some reason, unknown in the English law, she was called, till her decease, Mademoiselle le Gras. The bishop of Belley was her spiritual director; his residence in his diocese rendering his further care of her impracticable, he earnestly entreated Vincent to take charge of her; and, though it was contrary to his established rule of avoiding female direction Vincent, from his singular respect to the holy prelate accepted the charge. Mademoiselle le Gras soon announced to him her resolution of abandoning the world, and consecrating herself entirely to the service of the poor, and co-operating, as far as circumstances permitted,

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in Vincent's charitable undertakings. He commended her design; but, before he permitted her to engage in it, he tried her strength and good-will, during a period of four years, in different charitable employments; particularly, in visiting some of the confraternities, which he had established in several of the provinces of France. At the end of the four years, the trial ended, and she returned to Paris, and finally placed herself, with no vow, but with a firm resolution of obedience to him, under the direction of Vincent.—Seeing her ardour, he did not check, but regulate it. “Beware,” he said to her, “of doing too much. It is a snare, by which the evil spirit endeavours to deceive good souls; he excites them to attempt more than they can do, in hopes, that when they fail to do all the good they wish, they will do none. On the contrary, the Spirit of God breathes moderation, and prompts every one to do the good he can, and to persevere in it to the last.”

IX. 2.

The Sisters of Charity: or, Les Sœurs Grises.

To procure for the sick poor, kind and intelligent attendants, who might essentially assist them, both in their spiritual and corporal wants, was the object of this institution.

Its beginning was small. Vincent proposed the design to Mademoiselle le Gras, and suggested to her, that the only means of accomplishing it, was, collecting a certain number of young women, disposed to undertake such an employment, and to bind themselves to it by a serious, though not an indissoluble engagement; first proving, by a sufficient trial, their probable steadiness in the enterprise, and giving them such instructions, as would

enable them to discharge properly, the task to be assigned to them. Four innocent, active, and intelligent young women, were selected for this purpose, and placed under the tuition of Mademoiselle le Gras. They were joined by others: by degrees, their modesty, their gentleness, their zeal, and unpretending piety, gave general edification, and their number increased rapidly. In Paris alone, they had, at the commencement of the French revolution, thirty-four houses filled with sisters of the institution; several in the provinces, some in Lorraine, and some in Poland.

With their numbers, their duties increased:—at a moment's notice, they were to be ready to attend the sick, the wounded, and the dying poor; and for that purpose to seek the garret, the cellar, the hovel, the prison, and the hospital. They were taught to honour the sacred person of Christ, in all whom they attended; to remind themselves, by repeated acts of faith, of his holy presence, and to consider every discharge of duty, as an act of obedience to his divine will. Every day, they were to rise at four, to hear mass, to say the beads, to make two meditations and two examinations of conscience, to live abstemiously, never to taste any other liquor than water, and to receive the holy communion on every Sunday, and on the principal festivals; to attend the poor sick, to refuse no employment about them, however disgusting or painful. When it was necessary, one of them was to watch the sick or dying, through the whole night; to reckon for nothing, the foulness of the air, or the pestilential breath, which they must encounter in the discharge of their duty; and to familiarize themselves, when such was the situation of those, on whom they waited, with the near approach of death. They were to instruct the poor in the doctrines of religion, to suggest to them motives of piety, to inform the priest, as soon as it began

to appear, of their approaching dissolution : but, though watchful and earnest, they were not to be importunate or wearisome ; and never, either directly or indirectly, to receive even the smallest remuneration for their labour. When they quitted their rooms in the morning for the service of the day, they were to prostrate themselves on the ground, and make an act of adoration of the Divine Being, on whom, in his poor servants on earth, they were to wait. They were to emulate the purity of the inhabitants of a cloister ; to behave to each other with respect, and to avoid every thing that savoured of levity or familiarity. Their manners were to be grave. Their dress was grey ; this gave them the appellation of the *Sœurs Grises*. They made three simple vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity ; but those, they were not suffered to make till after a probation of seven years, and they were then only made for the term of the following year.

When Vincent first instituted this community, he considered that it would be filled only with young women taken from the lowest conditions of life. " By degrees," says M. Collét, his biographer, " young ladies of the " highest birth wished to become members of it. Vincent " saw,—and we now see—young ladies, who have been " brought up in delicacy, richly dressed, and accustomed " to command,—renouncing all the conveniences of life, " embracing a state in which nature has much to suffer, " honouring, as their superiours, those whom once they " would not have been permitted to wait upon them ; " and wearing, with greater joy, a coarse and humble " dress, than the children of the world find in their costly " garments." The institution was approved by John de Gondi, archbishop of Paris, legalized by letters patent of Lewis XIV.; and confirmed by cardinal Lewis de Vendôme, legate a Latere, from pope Clement IX. " How

“happy are these poor girls,” said Vincent, “to continue the good which Christ did, while he resided on earth. With all their good deeds, and their humble reliance on the mercies of his God and the merits of his Son, with what holy confidence may they appear at the day of judgment ! It seems to me, that all the crowns and empires of the earth, are only as dirt, in comparison with the glory, with which there is reason to hope, these poor girls will be one day crowned.”

An illustrious and intelligent foreigner, on a visit in this country, was shewn one of the greatest and best regulated hospitals : its order, its regularity, its cleanliness, and its airiness, were remarked to him. To these, he did ample justice : “ Mais,” said he, “ il vous manque quelque chose :—Un bon curé, et des sœurs grises.”

There was no part of Vincent’s labours, which he seems to have considered with more pleasure :—After the celebrated battle on the downs of Dunkirk, so warmly and so ably fought by the prince of Condé and Turenne, the sick and wounded of the victorious army of the latter, were taken to Calais, and placed in tents near the town. Anne of Austria, who was on the spot, was extremely affected at the sight, and immediately applied to Vincent for some of his sœurs grises to attend them. He sent four, and they commenced their labours : two sunk under them, almost immediately, and Vincent replaced them by two others. Mentioning this circumstance, in one of his conferences,—“ Imagine to yourselves,” he said, “ four poor girls among 600 sick and wounded soldiers. See the goodness of God, in raising, at the very time, such a company !—To do what ?—to render every personal service, of which these objects stand in need ;—to assist them spiritually, by speaking the words of salvation to them all, and particularly to the dying ;—to dress their wounds ; and while they dress them, to excite

“them to patience, or prepare them for death. This is
 “truly an affecting sight. Don’t you think, that in the
 “eye of God, it is an act of great merit for these sisters
 “to go with so much courage, among the soldiers, aiding
 “them in their wants, and contributing to their salva-
 “tion? To expose themselves to fatigue, and to illness,
 “and even to death, in order to serve these soldiers, who
 “have deserved so well of the state! We now see, how
 “full these poor girls are of the glory of God, and of
 “charity for their neighbours. One called upon me
 “yesterday, and told me, that she had been informed
 “that two of her sisters were dead, from fatigue, at Ca-
 “lais, and desired me, if I approved of it, to send her
 “there.—I told her, I would think of it; and she came
 “to me, yesterday, to renew the request. See the cou-
 “rage of these women, to offer themselves, in this man-
 “ner, as victims to charity, to give their lives for the
 “love of Jesus Christ, and the good of their neighbours.
 “Yes,—they will be our judges, if we are not disposed,
 “as they are, to expose our lives for the interest of
 “God!”

IX. 3.

Religious Association of Ladies for the service of the poor in the Hotel Dieu at Paris.

THIS most respectable association, originated with
 Madame la Présidente Goussault.—A widow, in the
 flower of youth, rich and beautiful, the world offered
 her, in a second marriage, every thing that could flatter
 a person of her rank: but grace was more powerful
 than the world. The imitation of Jesus in his love for
 the poor, she preferred to it,—and certainly did not lose
 by her choice.

The situation of the poor in the Hotel Dieu fixed her attention; she found that, in the course of every year, 25,000 individuals upon an average, of each sex, of every age, and of all religions, were received into it, and that much was wanting both for their spiritual and temporal accommodation. This, she represented to Vincent; she laid before him her plan for the reformation of the hospital, and conjured him, by his love of God and man, to preside over its execution. He consented, but not before it had been pressed on him by the archbishop of Paris. A first and second assembly of ladies was held; at the latter, madame d'Aligre, the wife of the chancellor of France, and several other ladies of distinction, attended: the presidente Goussault, was appointed the first superiour of the congregation; Vincent, its perpetual director. In a few years two hundred ladies of the first distinction joined the association. They obliged themselves to give regular attendance upon the poor of the hospital: and to do, or to see that others did for them, every office that suffering humanity requires.

They were enjoined to enter the hospital humbly dressed, to speak to the poor, not with affected condescension, but with real kindness and affection; to instruct them, and excite in them sentiments of devotion and resignation: Each of the ladies was furnished with a book containing the prayers and instruction, which they were to suggest.

Mademoiselle le Gras, and her sœurs grises were soon called in aid. Four priests were introduced into the house, a medical dispensary and a large kitchen established. Here, the incomparable sœurs grises worked from morning till night, and often through a great part of the night, in preparing the medicines and dressing the victuals of the poor. The expense amounted, upon an average, to 7,000 livres a year; and the fervor with

which the ladies began the association, never diminished. Even when the immorality of the Parisians was at its utmost height, there were not wanting ladies of the first rank, who gave the same attention, to the inmates of the Hotel Dieu, as it had received from Vincent's first companions.

The Hospital for Foundlings.

IN the middle of the 17th century, the city of Paris presented the lamentable spectacle of a multitude of children daily exposed, almost as soon as born, in the public streets, and left there to perish by inanition. The police interfered, and ordered the commissioners of the chatelêt, to remove them and provide them with sustenance. But little, if any, substantial good was effected by the order; the children were deposited with a woman of the name of Landri; she took little care of them, and few reached manhood. She confessed that none committed to her charge were baptized by her, or by her direction.

The miserable lot of these unhappy children came to the knowledge of Vincent: It was his constant rule, when he could not do all the good which he wished, to do that which he could. A subscription was raised, a house hired, several babes transported to it; Mademoiselle le Gras, and some of the *sœurs grises*, took charge of them. Thus, something was done, and the Almighty was implored to bestow, from the treasures of his mercy, the means of doing more.

After many prayers and many discussions, Vincent convened an assembly of the charitable ladies we have mentioned: a project of providing for all the children was embraced with ardour. The Court of France en-

tered into it; and, at the prayer of Anne of Austria, the king settled on the establishment a yearly pension of 1,200 livres. For a while every thing prospered; by degrees, the pension was suspended; their other means began to fail; fervour subsided, and ruin appeared to advance rapidly.

In the afflicting state of the undertaking, Vincent convened another assembly of the ladies: the Marillacs, the Traversacs, the Miramions,—and many other names still held in benediction in France, attended it. Vincent exposed to them the situation of the institution; the reasons for encouraging; the reasons for abandoning it. “You have contracted,” he told them, “no engagement; you are at full liberty to come to any resolution you think proper. Much has certainly been done by you; many infants who would otherwise have perished for time and eternity, have been saved through your care; many children now begin to know and love God, and will soon be qualified to earn their own subsistence by their own hands; the undertaking has its perils, but certainly so happy a beginning promises pleasing results.”

Here, for a moment, the feelings of the holy man subdued him, and his voice began to fail: Recovering himself,—“The time of deliberation,” he said, “is now over: the hour in which the fate of these children is to be decided, is arrived; their natural mothers forsook them, the grace of God gave them mothers in you: you are now to say, whether you will abandon them; cease, then, if you can, to be their mothers, and become their judges; their life, their death are in your hands;—you are to pass sentence upon them;—let us see if you will have mercy upon them, or not. If you have mercy on them, they will continue to live, if not, they must die!—I proceed to the vote.—Madame

"de Nemours," addressing himself to the dutchess of that name, he humbly said, "What do you vote for?"

Madame de Nemours, and every lady in the room, cried out with one voice, that the good work must be continued; that, whatever should be its expenses, whatever privations they must endure to support it, the establishment must and would be continued. "The fathers and mothers have forsaken their children," the assembly said, "but God has placed the children in our arms, and we never will forsake them." The resolution was not embraced with more ardour, than it was executed with wisdom and perseverance; it was supported partly by public, and partly by private beneficence; till the French revolution it ever flourished.—Surely the reader will exclaim, "How many thousand children should bless the name of Vincent!"

CHAP. X.

SUCCOURS SENT BY ST. VINCENT INTO LORRAINE
AND CHAMPAGNE, AND OTHER PARTS OF FRANCE,
WHICH WERE A SCENE OF WAR.

EVERY biographer of Vincent begins his account of this part of his life, by observing that, however his readers may have been astonished at what they had before read of Vincent's exertions of charity, they will find what remains still more surprising, and think it borders on prodigy. If the present writer should do justice to his subject, these too will be the feelings of his readers.

Charles IV., the duke of Lorraine, at the time of which we are now speaking, caused that territory to be the theatre of one of the most cruel and desolating wars, recorded in history. The Austrian, French, Spanish, and Swedish troops, occupied different parts of it, and there was not one, which did not repeatedly experience, in all their horrors, all the ravages of advancing and retreating armies : nor did they suffer less from their own soldiers, than from the armies of their enemies. Some towns and several villages were absolutely deserted ; many, consumed by fire. In all the rest, there was more or less of pestilence and famine. The inhabitants, naked, pale, and disfigured, wandered in troops over the fields, supporting themselves by the leaves of trees, by wild roots, and often by grass alone ; thousands perished from inanition. Parents fed on their children, and children on their parents. Father Caussin, (the confessor of Lewis XIII.) a witness of these horrors, observed, that " Lorraine was " the only country, which had presented to the universe " a scene more horrible, than had been displayed at the " siege of Jerusalem. *Sola Lotharingia Jerosolymam* " *calamitate vicit.*"

When Vincent was informed of it, he felt that there was a call on the wealthy portion of the community, for no ordinary exertion of charity : he announced it, at an assembly of The Charitable Ladies, and while the calamity lasted, they uniformly answered the calls of Vincent for charity, in the most edifying manner. Vincent began with his own community ; he reduced their subsistence to brown bread : on this, while this long calamity continued, they subsisted. It is admitted that twenty-five towns, and numberless townships and villages, owed to him their preservation from famine. He procured clothing and medicines for those who were

in need of them ; restored the ornaments of the churches, and the furniture of the convents, which had been pillaged. The ruined nobility, the destitute ladies of rank, he assisted, with every comforting attention and respect. All his charities were distributed wisely and thriftily, and, when they were narrowly examined, the measure of good, and the multitude of the persons benefited by them, became a matter of great surprise. Soon after his death, a calculation was made of the amount of the money, which had past through his hands, on this occasion ; and it was found to exceed two millions of livres ; and that 15,000 ells of cloth and linen, had been sent by him into Lorraine alone, for the use of the poor.

The advance of the Spaniards into the frontiers of France, in 1630, made those provinces,—Picardy and Champagne in particular,—a scene of equal and similar misery. At the entreaty of Vincent, the archbishop of Paris, announced it, by a mandement to his parishioners ; and every curate in Paris and its environs, mentioned it from the pulpit, and called on the charity of the faithful to contribute to the relief of the sufferers. Large sums of money were thus raised, and placed under the direction of Vincent. Collét says, that during the ten years, which this dreadful visitation lasted, Vincent regularly sent 30,000 livres in every month, for the relief of the sufferers.

A new scene of calamity then presented itself. An immense concourse, particularly of the provincial nobility, and their families, flocked in large troops from the desolations, which we have mentioned, to Paris ; all in extreme misery, and many perishing by hunger, on the road. On the first intelligence of it, Vincent convened at Paris, an assembly of the nobility of France, to take their condition into consideration, and relieve this extreme misery. He placed the baron de Renty,

illustrious by his birth, but more illustrious by his virtues, at the head of the assembly; an ample collection was made; and this, too, was placed under the direction of Vincent.

At the sight of these calamities, the crimes, the blasphemies, the licentiousness, the sacrileges, the desolation of whole provinces, the ruin of many families, and all the other results of this dreadful war, Vincent's heart was unspeakably moved. His long and serious reflections upon them, determined him to hazard a step, the success of which was very doubtful, and which the wise of the world would not have recommended. He was known and respected by cardinal Richelieu. He requested an audience of him; on being admitted to that haughty and vindictive minister, Vincent represented to him, with respect, but firmness, the misery of the people, the sins, and all the other disorders, which are the usual horrors of war; he then fell at the feet of his eminence, and, in a voice, equally animated by grief and charity. "Sir," he said to him, "give us peace; have compassion upon us; give peace to France." The cardinal was awed, raised Vincent from the ground; he told him, with much apparent kindness, "that, the general pacification of Europe was his great object, but, that unfortunately it did not depend on him only; there being, both within and out of the kingdom, a multitude of persons who sought the contrary, and prevented a peace."

It is in this manner that the son of a poor and obscure peasant, in the Bourdelois, softened the horrors of these dreadful scenes of blood and desolation,—too often occasioned by the ambition of sovereigns, but oftener by the selfish views and crooked policy of their ministers. "When one considers," says M. Collét, "the large sums of money procured by Vincent for the relief of the sufferers by these wars; his prodigious expense in restor-

“ing the churches, ruined by them; and by providing
“them with proper ornaments; the communities supported
“by him; the convents which he repaired and furnished;
“and the various and heavy incidental charges on all his
“good works, it must be admitted that his exertions for
“the countries thus depopulated by war, border on the
“miraculous;—and that it is utterly impossible to deny
“to him the praise of having possessed the most active
“and most persuasive charity.”

CHAP. XI.

VIRTUES OF SAINT VINCENT OF PAUL.

THE biography of Vincent does not turn on ecstasies, visions, or revelations, or even on shining displays of extraordinary virtue; it is wholly confined to an equable, unpretending, and undeviating tenor of humility, abstinence, forbearance, patience, and charity. Uniformly, the grace of God was the principle of his conduct; Jesus, living on earth, his model; the welfare of his neighbour, his aim; the glory of God, his final end. We shall successively mention his faith, confidence in God, habitual sense of the Divine Presence, spirit of prayer, and love of his neighbour.

XI. 1.

Faith.

THE faith of Vincent was humble, simple, and devout; and therefore agreeable to God. It was sufficient, that the church had spoken, to consider it an absolute duty,

to obey without hesitation or reserve. "The church," he used to say, "is the kingdom of God; his divine providence signifies to the shepherds the road which the flock should take; he never permits them to step into a single path, which leads to error; it is for us to hear, to be silent, and to obey."

On every thing like disobedience to the church, he looked with horror. In his time, the heresy of Jansenism began to threaten the church. Vincent had become acquainted with Jean du Verger de Hauranne, the abbé de St. Cyran; who, divides with Jansenius, the misfortune of having laid its first stone. In perusing the writings of the abbé, his learning and his talents must appear to an impartial reader to have been very slender, his voluminous pages do not discover a single ray of taste, or elevation. On the other hand, the veneration with which he was viewed by many, and the absolute ascendant which he obtained over some of the first geniuses of the age, lead to the supposition that he possessed no ordinary powers. But, if it be true, that strong minds often govern the weak; the experience of every day shows, that weak minds too often subdue the strong.

It is beside the object of these pages to give an account of Jansenism; the writer has attempted to do it in his *Historical Memoirs of the Church of France in the reigns of Lewis XIV, XV, and XVI, and during the French Revolution*. He concludes what he says on this subject by mentioning that "the examination of the proceedings of the Jansenists, had made him think, that they were uniformly wrong;—wrong in averring that the five propositions, extracted from the work of Jansenius, were not contained in that work; wrong, in maintaining that the church did not condemn them in the true sense of the writer; wrong, in denying the right of the church to pronounce on the true sense of

“the author’s writings; wrong, in all their distinctions
“and evasions; and wrong in the excessive severity of
“their morality. This,” continues the writer, “was the
“decided and avowed opinion of Bossuet, Fénelon,
“Fléchier, and Fleury.”

This too was the opinion of Vincent. The apparent piety of the abbé de St. Cyran, and the severity of his life, drew Vincent to him; and, during some time, they lived as men who esteemed each other, loved the society of each other, and felt a pleasure in rendering to each other offices of friendship. By degrees, Vincent began to suspect the soundness of the abbé’s religious opinions; on one occasion the abbé mentioned Calvin’s predestinarian sentiments with approbation, though he admitted that the language, in which they were expressed, was objectionable. On another, he argued in favour of some opinion condemned by the council of Trent. “Sir,” said Vincent, “you are now going too far. What! “would you wish me to believe an individual doctor, “subject as you must admit yourself, to error, in preference to the universal church, which is the pillar of “faith.” On another occasion, Vincent observing that the abbé had been writing, intimated to him, that “he “probably had been committing to paper something with “which God had inspired him in his morning prayer.” “I must confess,” said the abbé, “that God has favoured “me with great lights. He has given me to understand “that there is no church.” “What!” Vincent exclaimed, “have you to learn that Christ built his church “on a rock; and promised that the gates of hell shall “not prevail against her? That she is the spouse of “Christ, and that Christ will never abandon her.” “True it is,” says the abbé, “that Christ built his church “on a rock; but there is a time to build, and a time to “destroy.—True it is that the church was his spouse;

"but she is now an adulteress, and he has repudiated her." "Beware!" said Vincent,—“you seem to fail greatly in respect for the church.” “Do *you* know,” asked the abbé, “what the church is?” “She is an assembly,” says Vincent, “of the faithful in Christ, under one head, their legitimate pastor.” “You are an ignorant fellow,” replied the abbé, “you are not worthy of being placed at the head of your congregation: you should rather be turned out of it. I wonder they permit you to remain in it.” “That they allow me,” said Vincent, “to hold the place, which I fill in it, surprises me quite as much as it can surprise you.”

Here, the conversation ended: Vincent made afterwards some attempts to reclaim the abbé,—but they failed of success; and Jansenism gained too much ground. Vincent uniformly opposed it. This indisposed the disciples of Jansenius against him; they allowed him good intentions, and admitted that he did some good; but they denied his talents:—“He was far,” they said, “from possessing the loftiness of mind of the abbé de St. Cyran;”—but if he possessed,—(and this probably they did not refuse him),—a contrite and humble heart, he possessed that, which God does not despise.

The lamp of faith directed Vincent in all his ways, and judgments. “Behold!” he used to say, “a poor peasant or a poor working woman! The world considers in them nothing but their dirt, their coarseness, and their stupidity! Contemplate them with the eye of faith: You will recollect, that Jesus chose to be born poor, and that the poor are therefore his images; that he was sent to evangelise the poor. Oh, how pleasing it is to behold the poor, when we consider them in God!”—In this holy spirit of faith, Vincent ever lived, moved, and was.

XI. 2.

Confidence in God.

No one appears to have united, in a higher degree, confidence in God; and prudent exertion.

His mind was capacious, circumspect, not easily surprised, and equally able to seize a great outline and a minute detail. He was slow, in deciding; but, on an emergency, ever equal to the occasion; he always listened with great attention, never interrupted, and generally, repeated to himself the words,—“In the name of God,”—before he replied. An ordinary observer always thought himself Vincent’s equal: in the greatest concerns, the greatest geniuses did not feel him their inferior. He was equally firm and modest, resolute and conciliating. All these qualities he carried into business; and no person was a nicer judge of time, or place. His manner was at once imposing and gentle; the calmness of his soul beamed in his countenance, and made him viewed and heard with equal affection and reverence.

His confidence in God never failed him: “A person’s faith,” he used to say, “cannot be too firm: he cannot have too much confidence in God. One may expect from God, what God has not promised;—one may expect from God, without performing on our part, what he enjoins us to do, to obtain from him the good which we solicit: as, when a sinner expects the pardon of his own sin, who will not pardon his brother; or, when we expect to conquer temptation, without prayer and resistance:—In all these cases, our expectations will be vain; but a proper confidence in God never has been, and never will be disappointed.”

XI. 3.

Love of God, and conformity to his will.

"NOTHING," Vincent frequently said, "proves a person to be blessed with the love of God, so much, as docility to his voice." So watchful over himself was Vincent, so mortified in his passions, so equitable in his judgments, so measured in his words, so faithful in all his exercises, and so constantly united to God, that it was evident to all, that his soul overflowed with divine love. "O my Saviour! O my God!" he often exclaimed, "When wilt thou bestow on me, the blessing of being wholly thine? When shall I live for thee alone?—O Peter! how well didst thou live for God alone, when, having recognized thy master, and the beloved disciple having said, "it is the Lord!" thou thoughtest not of thy net, thy bark, or even of thy life, but plungedest thyself in the sea to embrace him."

"Behold the blessings which attend him who loves God, and conforms himself to his holy will. God holds him by the hand; he permits himself to be carried wherever it pleases God.—Such as you see him to-day, such you will see him to-morrow, such the following day; such through the month, through the year, through his whole life; you will ever find him in tranquillity, and in holy joy; tending to God, and spreading his holy peace over the hearts of all around him. God blesses his enterprizes, bestows his grace on all his designs, and renders him a constant subject of edification to all who behold him." In these words, Vincent described his own love of God, his own conformity to the divine will, and the corresponding sentiments, which he produced in those, with whom he conversed. "Did not our hearts," said le présidente

Lamoignon, at the close of one of his discourses, "glow with the love of God, when we were listening to him? For my part, though I am very insensible to spiritual things, I feel my heart, embalmed as it were, with what the holy man has said." "We must not," said the duchess of Mantua, to whom the discourse was addressed, "be surprised; he is the angel of the Lord, who has on his lips the divine fire, which burns in his heart."—The discourses of Vincent which have reached us, shew that this was not exaggerated praise.

XI. 4.

Presence of God.—Prayer.

"DURING a great number of years," said a virtuous ecclesiastic, "in which I lived with Vincent, and constantly observed him, I always found him, like Abraham, in the presence of his Maker. He saw *him* only; nothing else made an impression on him. Company, weight of business, good news, bad news, nothing appeared to distract his habitual recollection of the presence of God." It was his practice, to bring it formally to his mind four times in every hour. In every place, in every society, when the clock struck, he made the sign of the cross, and raised his mind to God: when he entered his room, or the room of any of the missionaries, he knelt, and invoked the Holy Spirit. Sentences calling to mind the presence of God, were painted in large letters in many parts of his house. He used to observe, that the practice of frequently recollecting the divine presence, makes it at length habitual.

Prayer, he assiduously practised and recommended to all:—pious meditation, he also recommended, and

that when the circumstances of the party allowed it, he should assign stated times to each. Affecting sentiments, he preferred to dry consideration; good resolutions, particularly when they entered into details for immediate practice, he preferred to each. Fine expressions, or refined thoughts, he wished to be avoided. "The son of God," he used to say, "could have ravished the world by his divine eloquence:—but, so far was he from it, that, in teaching the truths of the gospel, he always used familiar expressions and words of common use."

"Because, on some day," Vincent used to observe, "you have omitted to repeat your stated prayers, don't be discouraged, but, humbly confiding that God will pardon the omission, say them with greater fervency on the following. So,—if you break your resolutions, do not despair, but renew them.—If you sin, and sin ever so heinously, let it humble, but not dishearten you, or lessen your confidence in God. Even though some time should pass without any visible amendment, continue to pray for his divine grace; and be assured, that, if you persevere, you will obtain it."

Though he went late to bed, and seldom slept more than two hours, the second toll of the morning bell always found him on his knees in prayer. He was one of the first in the church; he then made his meditation and celebrated mass: he said it slowly and distinctly, but without affectation,—and with an air of reverence and devotion that inspired piety. He joined in the psalmody of the church, and paid the strictest attention to its being well executed: the eyes of all were to be fixed on the book; the chaunt was to be grave, not sluggish, rigidly adhered to, without ornament or flourish.

His devotion to Christ in the eucharist, was most

edifying. He always placed himself before the blessed sacrament on both his knees, in an attitude so reverent, and with a countenance so humble, as shewed how confidently and feelingly he believed the real presence of the Son of God, under the sacramental veil. He never permitted himself to speak a single word in a church,—if any person spoke to him, whatever his rank was, he rose, and, to hear what he had to say, led him out of the church, but with so much respect and modesty, as made it impossible to be offended with him.

When he travelled on foot, or on horseback, he stopped at the parish church of every village, through which he passed; and, if he stayed to dine or sleep, he visited the blessed sacrament in the church, if it was open; and if the church was shut, he offered his homage, on his knees, at the door.

He was a strenuous advocate for frequent communion, and thought the contrary practice very blamable. He used to mention the case of a lady of great piety and regularity of life, whose custom it was to approach the sacred table, twice a week. Meeting with a doctor of the new school, he reduced her communion successively, to one in eight days, a fortnight, a month, and at length, to one on each of the four great festivals of the year. The consequence was, that all her imperfections, her vanity, her impatience, her dissipation, visibly increased. At length she became sensible of her misfortune: "Unhappy me!" she exclaimed:—"This, I see, comes from my giving myself up to these new masters, and abandoning my frequent communion. O my God! who hast opened my eyes, give me grace to quit them, and to return again to the frequent use of the bread of life." She did so, and her calm, her regularity and her piety returned to her.

His devotion to the mother of God was great: "It

“ is a devotion so antient,” he used to say, “ and so authorized by the church, that it is a great fault to attack or weaken it.—Let us honour her every day of our lives; her humility, her purity, her grandeur, her favour with the Almighty, her compassion for sinners. Infinitely beneath God, she is infinitely above all created beings. Mother of God! to her alone, that title belongs.” He always wore the beads, appended to his girdle:—In catholic countries, the bell tolls at morning, at noon, and at evening, to invite the people to the recollection of the mystery of the incarnation; and to say three *Ave Marias* in remembrance of the annunciation of it, to the virgin:—It is called the prayer of the *Angelus*: when the bell for it tolled, it was immaterial to Vincent, what he was doing, or where he was; he fell on his knees, made the sign of the cross, and pronounced the holy prayer.

His zeal for the glory of God, was great, but it was always discreet, gentle, and considerate; his reproofs were those of a friend and a father; seeking to sooth, not to irritate; to heal, not to wound. The least angry expression was never heard from his lips; it is probable that his pen never wrote one bitter word. He frequently checked the excessive zeal of superiors. Substantial and permanent improvements, on a sudden, could not, he told them, be expected, and should not therefore be required. A superior boasted of his incessant exertions to mortify the self-love of his pupils. “ Do it,” he said, “ by degrees, and with great patience. No virtuous habit, without an extraordinary grace, is to be instantaneously acquired; it must be attained, step by step.”

XI. 5.

Charity towards his Neighbour.

"GIVE me one," he said, in one of his conferences, "who fixes his affections in God alone! A soul, who rapt in divine contemplation, finds nothing amiable but God; and rests in him in an ecstasy of delight, without troubling himself about his neighbour:—Then, give me one who loves God with all his heart, and who, for love of him, loves also his neighbour, though rude, though coarse, though imperfect, and who employs himself in his service, and does all in his power to lead him to God.—Which is to be preferred? O Jesus! co-eternal Son of the Father, true God of true God! What brought thee from heaven, to suffer the malediction of the earth,—the punishment of the cross,—to take on thee the form of a sinner,—to lead a painful and lowly life, and to close it by a cruel ignominious death? Had we, my brethren, a single spark of his divine love for us, how should we exert ourselves for our neighbour? Should we sit still, while he is perishing?—No, we should give up ourselves to God, and our neighbours, without reserve."

Thus Vincent spoke, and thus he acted.—It is to be observed, that on more than one occasion he shewed his loyalty to his king. "Vincent," said Anne of Austria, "is true to his God, and true to his king."

No child of the church was more respectful or submissive to the chair of St. Peter. He seemed to be as obedient to his bishop, as if he had vowed obedience to him; he came, and went, and stopped at the command of his prelate. He appeared to consider even the second order of the clergy as his masters. Every religious community, secular or regular, could dispose of his ser-

vices at their pleasure. It was his standing rule to give to every labourer in the vineyard of Christ the post of honour, and to seek for himself and the members of his community, the roughest and humblest duty. To the sick he was most compassionate; and never murmured at the expense or trouble which they occasioned; "a community," he used to say, "should consider their sick, not as a charge, but as a blessing." Finally, there was not, in the church of Christ, either a public body, or an individual, whom in the largeness of his heart, he did not embrace; and to whom he was not most ready to render every service in his power. We shall only add, that he was never surpassed in gratitude. It sometimes happened that his benefactors fell into want; he then, with the greatest joy, and with the warmest and most grateful acknowledgment of their favours, not only returned what he had received from them, but was even profuse in his kindness to them, never losing them from his sight, when he could be kind to them.

CHAP. XII.

HIS CONDUCT IN THE ROYAL COUNCIL OF CONSCIENCE.

1643.

Soon after the commencement of her regency, during the minority of Lewis XIV, Anne of Austria established an ecclesiastical council, in which all the concerns of religion were to be examined. It was composed of the cardinal Mazarin, the chancellor Seguier, Charton, the grand penitentiary of Paris, and Vincent himself. He was constituted its president; in this employment he continued ten years. His humility, equanimity, and patience never forsook him; he did not make a single sacrifice to

human respect; his secrecy was inviolable; his profound respect for the prelacy, his affection for the religious orders, and his tender charity for secular and regular communities, were unremitted. The only religious concern which he appeared to neglect, was his own congregation: for them, and for himself, he never solicited a single favour.

Two men, more different than Mazarin and Vincent, never entered into the same chamber of council. Mazarin had power on his side; but Vincent's character enabled him often to elude, and sometimes to overturn, his projects;—it is not a little remarkable, that notwithstanding all the talents of the cardinal, and the great partiality of the regent to him, the influence of Vincent was always on the increase. His unpretending simplicity of manners was admired by all. The grand Condé once made him sit down near him: "Your highness," said Vincent, "is too condescending to the son of a hog-driver." "Manners," said the illustrious prince, "not birth, ennoble the man."

"Moribus, haud ortu, nobilitatur homo."

A long conversation between them followed; the prince was so pleased with what Vincent said in it, that he proceeded immediately into the apartment of the queen, and congratulated her on her acquisition of a man so capable of advising her.—It is certain, that, though he was counteracted by Mazarin, he rendered essential services to the church. Fifty years after his decease, Flechier, the celebrated bishop of Nismes, than whom there could not be a better judge, mentions in one of his letters, that "the splendor and the glory of the clergy of France, during the reign of Lewis XIV, were owing to Vincent."

On all matters, in which religion was concerned, he was uniformly consulted. The house of St. Lazarus, at

Paris, was a kind of centre, into which every person found his way, who could render any considerable service to the church, or his neighbour. Prelates, magistrates, doctors, curates, abbots, superiors of communities,—all consulted Vincent. St. Francis of Sales, placed the Monastery of the Visitation, at Paris, under his protection; Lewis XIII. died in his arms; the chancellors Seguier, and le Tellier, spoke in terms of the highest praise of the undeviating rectitude of his intentions, the solidity of the principles upon which he acted, his penetration, and unshaken constancy in every good purpose. Both the Lamoignons,—presidents successively of the parliament of Paris,—than whom, the magistracy of France, never produced greater men,—had the highest esteem for Vincent. The son, in his deposition on the canonization of Vincent, deposed, that, “his father had “the highest veneration for him, and often consulted “him; not only on matters of conscience, but because “he considered him a man of excellent judgment, and “very superior to others. I myself,” he continues, “had “the happiness to live on terms of familiarity with the “holy man, during several years. His presence alone “inspired piety. His mild look, modesty, conciliation, “and total freedom from affectation, attracted all, who “had any concerns with him; his goodness and humility, “placed him on a level with all with whom he treated; “while the greatest geniuses did not find him below “them, when they had to discuss with him even the “most important affairs.”

SUCH WAS VINCENT:—The imperfect account given of him in these pages, we shall close by transcribing the conclusion of a life written of him by a much abler pen.

CHAP. XIII.

LAST YEARS, AND DEATH OF VINCENT.

1658—1660.

"IN the year 1658," says Mr. Alban Butler, in his *Life of St. Vincent*, which we have already cited, "St. Vincent assembled the members of his congregation at St. Lazarus, and gave to every one a small book of rules which he had compiled. At the same time he made a pathetic exhortation to enforce the most exact and religious observance of them. This congregation was again approved and confirmed by Alexander VII. and Clement X. St. Vincent was chosen by St. Francis of Sales, director of his nuns of the visitation that were established at Paris. The robust constitution of the zealous servant of God, was impaired by his uninterrupted fatigues and austerities. In the eightieth year of his age he was seized with a periodical fever, with violent night sweats. After passing the night almost without sleep, and in an agony of pain, he never failed to rise at four in the morning, to spend three hours in prayer, to say mass every day (except on the three first days of his annual retreat, according to the custom he had established), and to exert, as usual, his indefatigable zeal in the exercises of charity and religion. He even redoubled his diligence in giving his last instructions to his spiritual children; and recited every day after mass the prayers of the church for persons in their agony, with the recommendation of the soul, and other preparatory acts for his last hour. Alexander VII., in consideration of the extreme weakness to which his health was reduced, sent him a brief to dispense him from re-

“citing his breviary; but before it arrived, the servant of
“God had finished the course of his labours. Having re-
“ceived the last sacraments, and given his last advice,
“he calmly expired in his chair, on the 27th of Sep-
“tember 1660, being fourscore and five years old. He
“was buried in the church of St. Lazarus, in Paris,
“with an extraordinary concourse and pomp. An ac-
“count of several predictions of this servant of God,
“and some miraculous cures performed by him whilst
“alive, may be read in his life written by Collet (L. 9.),
“with a great number of miracles wrought through his
“intercession after his death, at Paris, Angiers, Sens, in
“Italy, &c. Mr. Bonnet, superior of the seminary at
“Chartres, afterward general of the congregation, by
“imploping this saint’s intercession, was healed instant-
“aneously, of an inveterate entire rupture, called by the
“physicians *Entero-epiplocelle*,* which had been declar-
“ed by the ablest surgeons absolutely incurable: this
“miracle was approved by cardinal Noailles. Several
“like cures of fevers, hemorrhages, palsies, dysenteries,
“and other distempers, were juridically proved. A girl,
“eight years old, both dumb and lame, was cured by a
“second novena, or nine days devotion performed for
“her by her mother in honour of St. Vincent. His body
“was visited by cardinal Noailles in presence of many
“witnesses, in 1712, and found entire and fresh, and the
“linen cloths in the same condition as if they were new.
“The tomb was then shut up again. This ceremony is
“usually performed before the beatification of a servant
“of God, though the incorruption of the body by itself
“is not regarded as a miraculous proof at Rome, or else-
“where, as Collet remarks (T. 2. p. 546). After the ordinary
“rigorous examinations of the conduct, heroic virtues

* This consists in a prolapse both of the gut and the omentum, or
runt, together.

“ and miracles of this saint at Rome, pope Benedict
“ XIII. performed with great solemnity the ceremony of
“ his beatification, in 1729. Upon the publication of the
“ brief thereof, the archbishop of Paris caused the grave
“ to be again opened. The lady marechale of Noailles,
“ the marshal her son, and many other persons were
“ present: but the flesh on the legs and head appeared
“ corrupted, which alteration, from the state in which
“ it was found twenty-seven years before, was attributed
“ to a flood of water which twelve years before this had
“ overflowed that vault. Miracles continued frequently
“ to be wrought by the relicks and invocation of St. Vin-
“ cent. A Benedictin nun at Montmirel, afflicted with
“ a violent fever, retention of urine, ulcers and other
“ disorders, her body being swelled to an enormous size,
“ and having been a long time paralytic, was perfectly
“ cured all at once by a relick of St. Vincent, applied to
“ her by Monseigneur Joseph Languet, then bishop of
“ Soissons. Francis Richer, in Paris, was healed in a no
“ less miraculous manner. Miss Louisa Elizabeth Sack-
“ ville, an English young lady at Paris, was cured of a
“ palsy by performing a novena at the tomb of St. Vin-
“ cent: which miracle was attested in the strongest man-
“ ner, among others, by Mrs. Hayes, a protestant gentle-
“ woman with whom she lodged. Miss Sackville be-
“ came afterwards a nun in the French abbey called
“ of the Holy Sacrament in Paris, lived ten years with-
“ out any return of her former disorder, and died in
“ 1742. St. Vincent was canonized in 1737, by pope
“ Clement XII.”

CHAP. XIV.

DESTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE OF ST. LAZARUS, AT THE
COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

1789.

THE spirit of Vincent and his first disciples, was perpetuated, among their successors, without the slightest variation or diminution. From his death, till the time of which we are now speaking, the same zeal, the same humility, and the same prudence, directed the steps of the congregation; they seemed to be unknown to all, except those whom they served; the silent benedictions which they received from those were boundless; but the world in general knew them not; they had little, therefore, of its applause. Still the congregation increased. In 1789, they had seventy-seven establishments in France, twenty-seven in Poland, and all of them numerous, they had fifty-six in Italy, Spain, and Portugal; and they possessed different colleges at Manheim, in the Palatinate, Heidelberg, and Neustadt. They had missions in Algiers, Tunis, Constantinople, Madagascar, and Pekin.

The house of St. Lazarus, generally contained about 400 individuals; there was not, among them, a single servant; but its administration was perfectly organized; every thing proceeded in silence and regularity, none sought to govern, all wished to obey. The chapel and refectory, had an imposing appearance: all the other rooms, with the exception of two, had bare walls; the two, were covered only with a common paper. The room of the superior was a little larger, but not better furnished than a common cell: He had no servant to wait upon him, no one convenience, nor a single mark of distinction, except that, in imitation of the practice

of St. Vincent, a poor person, sat and took his meal, on each side of him, when he dined.

Such was the situation of the congregation when the project of uncatholicising France began to be carried into execution. At two o'clock in the morning of the 13th of July 1789, about two hundred men, armed with daggers, guns, pikes, hatchets, and clubs, assembled, tumultuously, before the gate of the house of St. Lazarus. Soon after, a second band, more systematically arranged, made its appearance. The gate was forced, the mob rushed in, proceeded to a part of the house in which twenty lunatics were confined; and in which four youths of family were secreted, at the request of their parents, to conceal their enormities from the public eye. All these they set at large, and it is shocking to add that not one of them was ever heard of afterwards.

It is useless to enter into any detail of the scene which followed. It is described at length in the *Memoire sur la Devastation de la Maison de St. Lazare, dans la nuit de 12 au 13 Juillet, 1789*; published in the *Memoire pour servir à l'Histoire de la Religion, à la fin du XVIII Siecle*, 2 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1803, tom. i. p. 260:—A work containing much interesting matter,—the perusal of it, and of some other works, has convinced the writer of these pages, that the horrors of the French revolution are still little known in this country.

Suffice it to say, that the ruffians whom we have mentioned, were in possession of the house of St. Lazarus during fourteen hours; during which time they destroyed the library, the account books, the documents of title, the beds, bedding, chairs, tables, the contents of the dispensary, every article of furniture, and every pane of glass in the house, so that the whole was completely gutted, and formed one wreck. They then set fire to the granaries. Such of the liquors and provisions as they

could not consume, they burned. They also destroyed the fruit in the garden, sawed several trees, and killed the sheep and other animals within the precinct. Amid the horror, with which the ruin was surveyed on the following day, a sentiment of astonishment at the rapidity with which it was achieved, was very general.

One room contained several articles which had been used by Vincent,—the chair, on which he died, his coarse hat, the stockings he had last worn, a poor rusty candlestick, and part of the candle which burned in it when he breathed his last; his breviary, his beads, and the stick, with which he supported himself in his eighty-fifth year. These the mob unmercifully threw out of the window.

The chapel, however, was respected; and it is very remarkable, that in each of six hundred rooms which were pillaged by these artificers of destruction, the prints or images which represented Jesus Christ, were uniformly respected. We have mentioned the twenty lunatics and the four youths who were let loose, and heard of no more:—No other inmate of St. Lazarus was missing, or materially injured.

About one o'clock, a detachment of the national guard was at length sent to the house of St. Lazarus, and delivered it from the ruffians. By degrees, the members returned to it, and wept over its ruins. But not a murmur against the authors of their calamity was heard: no eye could behold them indifferent or unmoved. A subscription of 100,000 livres was raised for them. The king and the archbishop of Paris contributed to the sum with great liberality. They restored the house in the best manner they could; and discovered, with the greatest joy, most of the memorials of Vincent, which had been flung from the window of his room in the manner which has been mentioned.—They continued in an alter-

nation of hope and fear, till the fatal 10th of August, 1793, which banished them from France.

The reader will naturally be solicitous to know the situation of the *Sœurs Grises*, during this scene of calamity. Their principal house was immediately opposite to that of St. Lazarus. At eleven o'clock of the day on which that house was attacked, about fifteen of the mob demanded to enter the house of these edifying women; the doors were accordingly opened to them, and they made an exact visit of the greater part of the house; the multitude remaining in the street, and vociferating the most offensive and blasphemous expressions. But those, who had entered the house, conducted themselves with decency, and after they had finished their visit of it, retired.

At five o'clock, about two hundred of the ruffians forced themselves into the house; about twenty seemed to lead the others, and direct their operations. These, too, appeared to have a leader; and there seemed to be some reason to think he was a concealed friend, as he uniformly dissuaded his followers from violence. When they entered the chapel, the sisters were found on their knees. Terrified by the appearance of the visitors, several of the youngest ran to one of the mistresses, and clung round her for protection; several fainted. On this, the banditti retreated;—some, however, remained in the house. During two days and two nights, the community continued in this dreadful situation; but not a single offensive word was uttered before them by their visitants, or a single article of the house injured. Some of their visitors afterwards acknowledged that they had entered the house with the most wicked intentions.

In 1799, the *Sœurs Grises* were recalled by the French government; their house was restored to them, and

they resumed their charitable employments. At a subsequent period, the surviving members of the congregation of St. Lazarus, returned to France; where, dear to God and man, they now exercise their very holy and very useful functions.

The room in which Vincent died, is still shewn; and some articles, which belonged to him, are yet preserved in it. The house at Pouy, in which he was born, was converted into a chapel; it contains two paintings, one of Vincent in his cradle, the other of Vincent in the fields, keeping his flock. An oak, near the chapel, is shewn, under which, Vincent, it is said, used to sit. It is often visited, by pious persons, on the 24th of April, the day of Vincent's birth:—they have a pleasure in contemplating Vincent, sitting under its shade,—corresponding with the first impressions of grace, and deserving by it, to increase, as the evangelist says of Vincent's model, in age and wisdom.

A LETTER
ADDRESSED TO A LADY,
ON
ANTIENIENT AND MODERN MUSIC.

MADAM,

I SIT down to perform my promise, of committing to paper, some observations on music. With this view, I shall have the honour to offer you some miscellaneous observations,—I. On the Greek and Roman music: II. On the music of the middle ages: in which, 1st. its notation; 2ndly, the stave; 3dly, the gammut and hexachords of Guido; 4thly, the division of notes; 5thly, musical bars; and 6thly, music in parts, will be successively mentioned: III. Advancing to modern music, 1st, the Flemish; 2ndly, the Italian; 3dly, the German; and 4thly, the French schools of music, will be noticed; 5thly, your attention will then be called to a dispute, which arose in France, in the time of Lewis XIV. on the lawfulness of stage entertainments; 6thly,—after which, the English style of music will come under consideration, adverting to the anthem, the serious glee, and the oratorio: IV. Some account will then be given of the Gregorian song, the restoration of which, in the Roman-catholic chapels, you and I most devoutly wish.

V. The epistle, which, I fear you will find long, shall close, with a short historical view of Roman-catholic music in England, since the reformation.

I.

Greek and Roman Music.

THE Greek music consisted of consecutive tetrachords. In their nomenclature, a tetrachord denoted a series of notes, each of which was a tone, or a half tone. Two consecutive tetrachords are generally exemplified by supposing two serieses of them; the second placed immediately after and immediately ascending above the first: the lowest note of the lower series being *ut*; its highest *fa*: the lowest note of the upper series, being *sol*, its highest *ut*. The two serieses, thus placed, compose the modern octave.

The tetrachord was divided into *three scales*: the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic. In each, *ut* and *fa*, and *sol* and *ut*, were permanent or stationary. In the *diatonic*, the notes, as in the modern scale, were *ut*, *re*, *mi* and *fa*; or *sol*, *la*, *si*, and *ut*; and thus consisted of two full tones, and a semitone; in the *chromatic*, the notes were *ut*, *ut* sharp, *re* and *fa*; or *sol*, *sol* sharp, *la* and *ut*; and thus consisted of the first note, a semitone, a second semitone, and a minor third. In the *enharmonic*, the notes were *ut*, *ut* raised by a quarter tone, *ut* raised by a further quarter tone, and *fa*; or *sol*, *sol* raised by a quarter tone, *sol* raised by a further quarter tone, and *ut*; and thus consisted of the first note, the first note raised by a quarter tone, the first note raised by a further quarter tone, and a major third. They were thrown into numerous subdivisions; but these, probably, were rather objects of mathematical research, than rules for practice.

The author of the *Young Anacharsis*,—(a better scholar than myself would cite a graver authority),—transcribes a passage, from a Greek musician, which seems to indicate, that the Greeks found it very difficult to sing in the enharmonic scale. At present, it is considered a great difficulty: few voices can rise or fall, without some intermediate gradation, to the quarter tone of a distant note. One of the most scientific musicians in England told me, that he thought it doubtful, whether any performer could sound, at once distinctly and rapidly, two consecutive tetrachords in the enharmonic scale.

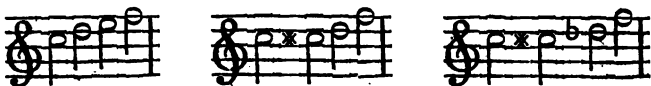
But, the difficulty, however great, was subdued by the Greeks, as the quarter tone regularly occurs in their scale. This, it is extremely difficult to comprehend; and it has been found impossible to adapt a frequency of quarter tones for any practical purpose. The work, in which the Greek system of music appears to be best explained, is a paper of Sir George Shuckburgh, (No. 441), in the *Philosophical Transactions*. But, without intense study, it is impossible to comprehend it. A few months before he died, Doctor Burney said to me, that “he himself never understood the Greek music, or found any one that did understand it.”

The Romans adopted from the Greeks, the diatonic scale; and, partially, at least, the chromatic: but they rejected the enharmonic, and many of the subdivisions of the two other scales.

All modern music is in the diatonic scale, with the occasional admixture of the chromatic semitone, and the enharmonic quarter tone: but the last is very seldom introduced. One is naturally led to suppose, that the Grecian music admitted a similar admixture; but it seems to be agreed, that their airs, were either altogether in the diatonic, the chromatic, or the enharmonic

scale. To every modern ear, this must appear impossible.

The first of the following diagrams represents the tetrachord in the diatonic scale; the second represents it in the chromatic; the third, in the enharmonic:



But here we must take care to attend to, an important distinction in semitones;—particularly as those, whose experience in music does not extend beyond keyed instruments, and practising the voice by them, seldom understand it; though, for accurate singing, or accurate performance on a stringed instrument, particular attention to it, is absolutely necessary.

In keyed instruments, the short key between the two long keys, serves to represent both the sharp of the note below, and the flat of the note above: but there is a material difference between them; the interval from *ut* natural to *re* flat, being greater than that, from *ut* natural to *ut* sharp. Thus, if we suppose a tone to be divided into eight commas, (which is sufficiently accurate for the purpose under consideration), the interval between *ut* natural and *re* natural, will consist of all the eight: and then, the interval between *ut* natural and *re* flat, will comprehend five of the eight, and the interval between *ut* natural and *ut* sharp, will comprehend three. But we have seen, that, in keyed instruments, the same key serves both for *ut* sharp and *re* flat. To remedy, in a certain degree, this imperfection, the tones from *sol* to *la*, and from *re* to *mi*, are divided in the Temple organ, and on some other organs, into three parts, by two distinct keys, one for *sol* sharp, and the other for *la* flat; and one for *re* sharp, the other for *mi* flat.

This general imperfection of keyed instruments has made some professors think that persons, whose singing it is intended to carry to the utmost perfection of which it is susceptible, should be taught by a violin, and not by a forte piano. Mara, it is said, was instructed in this manner. It is to be observed, that, the only keyed instrument, which expresses a quarter tone, is the clavi-chord, an instrument scarcely known in this country; but, frequently found on the tables of foreign professors, and in the cells of nuns. It is very portable, and does not disturb the inmates of an adjoining apartment.

II.

The Music of the Middle Ages.

Few things show more than the gammut, how greatly art enters into combinations, apparently natural. Most persons, who have not attentively considered the subject, suppose that the gammut consists of sounds naturally of the power, and naturally rising and falling in the order in which they now stand: so that a child, as soon as his voice is formed, would, of himself, and without the least tuition, sing the gammut both in the ascending and descending series; and make the lowest note of the octave, or, which is the same, the lowest note of the tetrachord, if he sang in the descending series, and the highest of either, if he sang in the ascending series, its ultimate or final note. But, to form the gammut, great mathematical research, and many experiments were necessary. It was not till the 9th century, that the hexachord was raised to a septenary, and it was not till the 17th, that the 7th note received an appropriate name. The former was preceded by the discovery of notation and of the staff or stave.

II. 1.

Its Notation.

For their system of musical notation, the Greeks adopted the letters of their alphabet; the Romans used for it their own capital letters A. B. C. D. E. F. G. These formed the first septenary; H. served for the beginning of the second, and this closed with O. But as, without the final octave, a septenary is imperfect in theory, and unsatisfactory to the ear, the octave note was insensibly added to the series, and formed its regular close: H. serving both for the end of the first and the beginning of the second octave: this ended in P.

To show to which of the three scales, the diatonic, the chromatic, or the enharmonic, the note belonged, and, where the scale was raised above the first series, to describe the degree of its elevation, the Greeks varied the form of the letter. Each variation formed a note, and the whole formed 1620 notes. These constituted the Greek scale; to acquire the knowledge and ready use of it, prodigious labour was necessary.

It has been observed that the Romans rejected the enharmonic scale, and many of the Grecian subdivisions of the diatonic and chromatic scales. This reduced their notation, comparatively speaking, to a very small number of notes. They are supposed to have been limited to xv. Pope Gregory the Great, reduced them to the seven first letters of the alphabet. The sounds in the gravest or lowest octave, he expressed by the capital letters, A. B. C. D. E. F. G.; the sounds in the octave next above it, he expressed by the minuscules, a. b. c. d. e. f. g.; the sounds in the octave above this,

he expressed by double minuscules, aa. bb. cc. dd. ee. ff. gg.

The letters of Pope Gregory were afterwards abandoned for notes or points.

II. 2.

The Stave.

A CERTAIN number of parallel lines, rising one above the other, forms what is called, by some writers, the stave; by others, the staff. These musical lines were unknown to the Greeks and Romans.

They first came into use in the tenth century. The letters or notes were placed sometimes on the spaces only, and sometimes on the lines; but it seems probable, that, before the time of Guido, the spaces and lines were never used together in the writing of the same piece of music. Thus it required eight lines for the notation of the octave. Afterwards, notes were placed both on the line and the space; the lines were then reduced to four. We shall see that the Guidonian system of hexachords, made it expedient to increase them to five. As the science and practice of music extended, occasional additions were made to them. These, from their being placed under particular notes only, and not drawn out through the whole length of the line, were originally called *Ledgers*, that is, *Legers* or *Light*. At present, (particularly since the insertion of the additional keys on the forte piano), a complete, and more than a complete staff of notes, is occasionally inserted in musical compositions, over the highest line of the stave. Formerly keyed instruments seldom contained more than five septenaries, as they did not descend lower than SOL SOL, or ascend higher than RE RE. At present the grand

forte piano embraces forty keys, or nearly six complete septenaries.

II. 3.

The Gammut.

It is known that the Gammut was invented, or at least brought into fashion and use, by *Guido*, a monk of the Benedictine monastery of Pomposa, born in 999, at Arezzo, a small town in Tuscany. Hearing the Monks sing in a church at Rome, a hymn in Sapphic verse, in honour of St. John, he observed, that the first syllable of the first word of each hemystich, rose regularly a tone, or a half tone higher, than the first note of the first syllable of the last preceding hemystich; so as to form a complete Greek hexachord, beginning with the key note and ascending to the sixth. The words of the hymn are,

<i>Ut</i> queant laxis	<i>Resonare</i> fibris,
<i>Mira</i> gestorum	<i>Famuli</i> tuorum,
<i>Solve</i> polluti	<i>Labii</i> reatum,
Sancte Joannes!	

In the tune or melody of the hymn, as it was then sung, the tones of the syllables *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*, and *la*, were sounded exactly on the note, in which those syllables are now sung in the gammut.

Guido, therefore, supposed four parallel lines to be placed, and the lowest line to represent the sound *ut*; the space between this and the parallel line above it, to represent the sound *re*; the second parallel line to represent the sound *mi*; the space between it and the parallel line above it, to represent *fa*; the third parallel line to represent *sol*; and the space between it and the parallel line above it, to represent *la*. This formed a complete

hexachord, or an ascending series, consisting of the first note, a full tone, another full tone, a half tone, a full tone, and another full tone. But, as the human voice extends to a greater compass, he supposed a second hexachord to begin at *fa*, and to rise, through *sol*, *la*, *si* flat, and *ut*, to *re*; and a third to begin at *G*. and to ascend through *la*, *si* natural, *ut* and *re*, to *mi*. To effect this, he adopted the gamma of the Greek alphabet, as a symbol for *ut*, so that, wherever it was placed, it was to represent *ut*.

It is to be observed, that the hymn, which suggested the gammut to Guido, is not now sung by the Romish choirs, in the melody, in which he heard it. But this melody has been discovered in the library of the cathedral church of Sens. A copy of it, and of the representation given by Sir John Hawkins of the hexachords of Guido, is inserted in the plate opposite to this page.

It must be observed, that, in the second hexachord, *si* natural is to be admitted, and *si* flat rejected; and that, in the third hexachord, *si* natural is to be admitted, and *si* flat rejected. Thus the hexachord, which begins with *ut*, is the first, or *natural* hexachord; that, which begins with *fa*, is the second, or *soft* hexachord; that, which begins with *sol*, is the third or *harsh* hexachord. The representation given by Sir John Hawkins of the hexachords, will be found to comprehend twenty notes, and to contain six generations of hexachords.

Such is the supposed improvement of Guido. His contemporaries speak of it, in terms of the highest praise. They say, that it enabled a boy to learn in one year, what, before that time, he could scarcely learn in ten. Some assert, that he received the knowledge of it by divine inspiration. Your correspondent begs leave to say, that to him, the merit of Guido's system of hexa-

chords has ever appeared incomprehensible. Surely the diatonic tetrachords of the Greeks, afforded a scale much more simple, and much better constructed, both for practice and theory. It must be obvious to every one, that the final note of a tetrachord, both in the ascending and descending series, sounds to the ear, as a regular close of the preceding series; and that the final note of a hexachord in the ascending series, sounds more as the beginning of a new series, than as a close of a former.

Whatever may be the merit or defects of the Guidonian system, it remained in universal use, till the close of the seventeenth century, when *Le Maire*, a French musician, is said to have assigned the syllable *si*, to the final note of the septenary, or the note between *la* and *ut*. This completely restored the Greek diatonic scale of tetrachords; and, by appropriating different letters or syllables to express the second tetrachord, was an improvement upon it.

It must be added, that the labours of musical beginners were considerably shortened by the introduction of the *si*. Your correspondent was one of the unfortunate beings, who learned the musical notation, by *A re*, *B mi*, *C fa ut*, *D sol re*, *E la mi*, *F fu ut*, *G sol re ut*; and the rest of that gibberish. In those days, masters were not fonder than they now are, of giving explanations. Had they told us, that the reason for there being more than one syllable added to the literal name of a note, was its appertaining to more than one hexachord, and shewed the different places of these syllables in the different hexachords, it would have been food for the mind, and assisted the memory. But, speaking generally, no such explanation was given. It is surprising how late it was in the last century, before the very intricate solmization by the hexachord was abandoned, and the use of the *si*

became general. In England, the *si* was adopted later than in any other part of musical Europe. This puts me in mind, that, till within these few years, the accounts in some departments of the exchequer were kept in the Roman mode of numerical notation, though the Arabic mode is so greatly its superior; and the practice of a single quarter of an hour, must convince even the dullest understanding, of its infinite superiority.

II. 4.

Division of Notes.

WE now come to the *Cantus mensurabilis*, as it was termed in the middle age,—or the invention of musical notes of different durations in time. Till the period, of which we are now speaking, the only division of notes, was into the *long* and the *short* note; the latter being half the duration of the former. But sometimes, in consequence of a point's being added to it, a preceding note was lengthened by one half of its regular duration; and that proportion of it was taken from the following note.

The further division of musical measure seems to be generally ascribed to *Magister Franco*, who died in 1083; it was extended by him, to the *minim*; our countryman, Morley, says "that the ancient musicians esteemed this, the shortest note singable." By degrees it was extended to the *demisemiquaver*, or a note with three hooks. But, even in the beginning of the last century, these subdivisions were little used. At present we have notes with five hooks, or *quarter demisemiquavers*.

II. 5.

Musical Bars.

EVERY musical piece is divided into equal portions of time, called measures. These are ascertained to the eye by straight lines, called bars, drawn down the stave; so that all the notes contained between two bars, constitute one measure. In the canto fermo of the Romish church, two bars were used; one, that went down the whole length of the stave; the other, that went down half its length. They were introduced for the purpose of allowing to the singer a greater or less space of time for taking his breath. But, both in some manuscript and some printed books of the canto fermo, a bar is placed by mistake, at the end of each word.

The use of bars is not of great antiquity, as a higher period than the middle of the 16th century cannot be assigned to them; and it was not till the middle of the 17th, that they became general. They are constantly used in the "*Ayres and dialogues of Henry Lawes*," published in 1653. This, it is supposed, gave them fashion and currency in England. It is probable that Milton, in the sonnet, which he addressed to Lawes, alludes to this circumstance in the lines, with which it begins;

" Henry! whose tuneful and *well-measured* song
First taught our English music, how to span
Words, with just notes and accent, not to scan
With Midas' ears, committing short and long!"

It is observable, that, within these fifty years, *Martini* published in Italy, in elegant characters, a set of canons without bars. So much are we now accustomed to bars, that several vocal performers of great eminence, into

whose hands your correspondent put these canons, could not sing them at sight.

II. 6.

Descant, or Music in Parts.

"CECILIA's world of sound," as the organ is happily termed by Mr. Collins, in his ode, intitled "*The Passions*," is an instrument of considerable antiquity. The water organ seems to have been invented in the time of the second Ptolemy Everg tes. The wind organ is mentioned in a Greek epigram in the Anthologia, attributed to the emperor Julian, and seems to have become common in the time of Vitiges, a Gothic monarch, who reigned in the beginning of the 6th century. All writers agree that, the first organ seen in France, was sent, in 757, by Constantine Copronimus, the Byzantine emperor, to Pepin, the founder of the Carlovingian dynasty; and that soon afterwards, it was introduced into churches, in every part of the western empire. It then began to be used in accompanying the voice.

Whether, before this time, either in Greece or Rome, or during the middle ages, music in parts, or simultaneous harmony by settled rules, was known, has, more than once, been a subject of profound discussion. The better opinion appears to be, that, till this time, it was altogether unknown; and that at first, the organ was played in unison; but that, by degrees, the facility, of extracting from the organ different sounds at the same time, caused "the concord of sweet sounds" to be remarked, and practised both upon the instrument and with voices, and in an union of one to the other. The minor third, seems to have first caught the ear; and it became customary for two voices to sing in unison till

R

the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable; then, to divide these into a minor third, and to close in unison. Even after the middle of the last century, this was thought an accomplishment, in places at a distance from the capital. It was termed *organising*. After the accompaniment of the organ to the voice, in a different note, became common, the accompaniment generally moved in fourths, when it was above the voice; and in fifths, when it was under it.

At first, harmony was confined to two parts, and called *Descant*, or *Deux-chants*, from the two performers. It was successively increased, and in proportion to its increase, was called organization in *triplo*, *quartuplo*, and *quintuplo*. To Magister Franco, whom we have already mentioned, *Descant*, or music in parts, had great obligations, and it was considerably advanced by *John de Muris*. But all preceding writers on the theory of music were eclipsed by *Fanchino Gaffurio*, elected, in 1484, Maestro di Capella of the cathedral church of Milan, and professor of music in that city. He left five treatises; that, in the greatest request, is his *Prattica Musica*, published at Milan in 1496.

The term *Descant*, made way for those of *Faux bourdon* and *Contrepoint*. Both were at first extremely simple; each note of each part of the harmony being set against the other. Generally speaking, in *Faux bourdon*, the air was the highest part, and the parts forming the harmony, were under it. In *Contrepoint* it was the reverse; the air being the lowest part, and the notes which formed the harmony being raised upon it. In the composition of each, particularly the latter, there was learning and contrivance, but little melody.

Into counterpoint, and particularly into one place, where a person would least expect to meet with it,—the

service of the church,—*improvisatory harmony* was in general use in France, Flanders and Germany. Taking the chant, as a ground, these strange performers raised upon it an extempore accompaniment of two, three, or even four parts. It is obvious, that, from the ignorance which each performer must have of the notes, which his companions would sing, the faults against harmony, even when such an exhibition was made by the most scientific performers, must have been frequent, and often of the most disgusting nature. Some general rules for avoiding them were laid down: but many cases occurred, to which they did not apply: and, in general, they were altogether disregarded. The consequence was, a cacophony, which no one, who has not heard it, can imagine. Every performer sang, or rather bawled out, as loud as he could, any notes, or any divisions, which appeared to him to bear any relation to the note of the chant; and, at the same time, a wind instrument, called the serpent, roared throughout the whole. The enraged musician, in Hogarth's engraving, never heard any thing more horrible than these extemporaneous counterpoints of French, Flemish or German choristers.

It remains to add, under this head, that the word "counterpoint" has long ceased to have the appropriate meaning, which we have mentioned: it is now synonymous with harmony. By a contrapuntist, we now understand a person skilled in the laws of musical harmony, or addicted to the study of them.

III.

Modern Music.

To present you with some view of this part of the subject, on which your correspondent has the honour to

address you, he will trouble you with some miscellaneous thoughts,—1st, on the Flemish; 2dly, on the Italian; 3dly, on the German; and 4thly, on the French school of music; 5thly, he will then endeavour to give you a short account of a controversy which took place in France respecting the lawfulness of stage entertainments; 6thly, a short account of the English school of music, with a succinct notice of the anthem, the serious glee, and the oratorio, will then follow..

III. 1

The Flemish School of Music.

THIS school occupies, in point of time, an intermediate æra between the music of the middle ages and modern music. The wars between the Guelphs and Ghibellins, and the irruption of the French into Italy, drove many musicians of distinction into the low countries. At this time, these were in the height of their prosperity. The wealth and splendour of their commercial towns, placed the Dukes of Burgundy, their sovereigns, on a level with the greatest monarchs, and enabled their principal merchants to display such magnificence in their dress, their buildings, and their mode of living, as excited the envy of the noblest princes of Europe. In 1301, when Joanna of Navarre, the wife of Philip le Bel, the king of France, was at Bruges, she was so much struck with its grandeur and wealth, and particularly with the splendid appearance of the wives of the citizens, that she was moved, by female envy, to cry out with indignation, “I thought that I had been the only queen here; but I find that there are many hundreds more.”

To this scene of magnificence and gaiety, the fugitive

musicians of Italy repaired, and founded a school of music, which for half a century, gave law to Europe. Their pre-eminence is noticed by *Guiccardini*, in his "*Account of the Low Countries*." Its style of music may be termed the *Florid Counterpoint*. It partook much of the antient counterpoint: but was more scientific, more varied, and more extensive. Neither the notes of the different parts, nor the syllables, nor even the words were, as in that music, kept in strict opposition to each other; divisions on a single syllable, and occasional pauses, were admitted; the contexture of the parts was more simple, there was more air, and the whole proceeded with more rapidity. At the head of the contrapuntists of this school, was John de Muris, who has been mentioned. It may be added for the honour of the harmony of our Island, that there is some reason to contend that he was of English birth. But, as a composer, he appears to have been excelled by *Josquin de Prés*.

Soon after the revival of letters, counterpoint found its way into Italy. Under the hands of the immortal *Palestrina*, it became simple, elegant and grand. To this moment, no compositions for the church, are at once so proper and so fine. This style of music attained its perfection under *Luca di Marenzio*. One of the greatest pleasures, which a person, who has real taste for harmony, and is skilled in it, can receive, is to hear the madrigals of Marenzio and some of his contemporaries, well executed. Through the favour of the late Doctor Bever, of the College of Advocates, this felicity was often enjoyed by your correspondent. A circumstance, which took place during these, his very pleasant musical hours, he begs your leave to mention.—Among his other merits, the Doctor possessed the highest degree of Orthodoxy. It happened, that a motett of Steffani in

honour of the Virgin Mary, was to be performed. It began with the words "*Qui diligit Mariam, inveniet vitam;*" it certainly is one of the noblest compositions for single voices, that ever came from the pen of man. But the Doctor was shocked, at its high attribution of honour to the virgin mother of God, and therefore scratched out, both in the score, and in all the parts, the word "*Mariam,*" and inserted the word "*Filium,*" in its place. This, on account of the different prosody of the two words, was not an improvement on the strain. The circumstance puts me in mind of Father O'Leary's reply to a protestant gentleman, who good-naturedly told him, "that, he hated to hear the Virgin Mary treated with irreverence; that she truly was a respectable venerable woman; "just such a woman," continued the gentleman, "as my mother."—"True," replied O'Leary; "but you must allow there is some difference in the children."

III. 2.

The Italian School of Music.

BEAUTIFUL as the florid counterpoint, under the hands of the great masters, whom we have mentioned, most certainly was, still it constantly laboured under this great imperfection, that, in all such compositions, the melody was altogether overpowered by the harmony, so that it was calculated to satisfy the eye more than to please the ear. From this state of thralldom, melody was emancipated by Leo, Scarlatti, Durante, Steffani, Clari and Marcello. Allowing to harmony its due measure of importance, they assigned to melody its just pre-eminence. With these composers, the golden age of music began. Several duets and fuller pieces of Steffani

have come in my way; the published Madrigals of Clari, the Psalms of Marcello, are familiar to me; but the Duets of DURANTE!—there are not in music more highly finished compositions. The late Miss Seward used to say, that if she wished to put a young man's taste for poetry to trial, she would place in his hands the *Lycidas* of Milton,—(would not his *Comus* be a more proper work?)—and ask him his opinion of it. To try the taste of a young person for music, he should hear the Duets of Durante. If he be not pleased, or even, if he do not feel something more than pleasure, when he hears them, he may make a respectable amateur; but it will be quite clear that he has no real soul for music. It has seldom happened to me to mention the name of Durante to an Italian professor of decided eminence, whose eyes have not glistened with admiration and delight at hearing it. Sacchini has been seen to kneel, and kiss with reverence the wonderful volume. To Durante, Steffani is second, but is not his rival. Our late queen, while she cultivated music, was very partial to Steffani, and took great pains to procure his works. Her majesty's was supposed to be the best collection of them in existence. It is much to be lamented that the compositions of Durante and Steffani are not more generally known. The immortal *Stabat Mater* of Pergolesi, has rendered the name of that composer famous in England. The resemblance between the first bars of its first movement, and the first bars of the celebrated trio in *Acis and Galatea*, is very striking. As *Acis and Galatea* was performed in 1732, and the *Stabat* was not performed before 1737, the probability is, that, if there were plagiarism, the Italian was the plagiarist.

The year 1597 is generally assigned for the commencement of the Opera. The invention of recitative,

or simple musical tones raised above speech, yet below singing, preceded it by a century. It is ascribed to *Pulci*; it is said, that, in this kind of simple melody, he sung, after the manner of the antient rhapsodists, his *Morgante Maggiore*, in 1450, at the table of Lorenzo di Medici. About 150 years after this time, some Florentine noblemen employed two of their countrymen to write and set to music, a drama of *Orfeo*, performed in 1597. It was a perfect Opera, the dialogue being musically recited, the airs sung, the actors dressed in character, and accompanying both their recitatives, and their airs, with theatric action. But the instrumental accompaniment was not very considerable. We know, that, in another opera, composed about this time, the accompaniment consisted of a harpsichord, played behind the scenes, a large guitar, a large lute, and a viol de gamba. Dancing, which has now acquired so much importance in musical representations, obtained a place in the musical drama by slow degrees. It seems to have obtained a complete ascendancy, in 1781, when,—*horresco referens*,—the house chatted, while *Pacchierotti* sung; and, was perfectly silent, when *Vestris* danced.

To obtain a general view of the music of Italy, it may be proper to follow its geographical division into its higher, central and lower regions. The first, includes the *Venetian and Lombard* schools, the second, those of *Rome and Bologna*; the third, includes the *Neapolitan*. The first is said to be distinguished by energy; the second, by science, purity and simple dignity; the third, by vivacity and expression. Much of this may be thought imaginary. Generally speaking, the music of Italy may be said to have been first expanded into grandeur and copiousness by *Vinci* and *Pergolesi*, and to

have reached its summit under Jomelli. Since that time the Italian School has never been without most respectable composers; but they have been rather pleasing than imposing. For elegance and fancy, they may be justly mentioned in the highest terms of eulogy; but the praise of sublimity or pathos, they have seldom merited.

III. 3.

The German School.

TILL Haydn and Mozart appeared, *Hasse* was certainly the first of German composers. He chose Vinci and the other early Italian masters for his models. In elegance, simplicity, and grandeur he equalled them, and excelled them in grace and effect. But his character is better known in this country than his compositions. Considering his acknowledged reputation, and that the style of his music is particularly adapted to the taste of an English audience, it is surprising that we should know so little of his musical compositions.

Haydn, and, till lately, Mozart were principally known to us by their instrumental music. The full pieces of the former were thought to be unequalled, till Beethoven attracted the public attention. On account of its greater simplicity, colloquial cast, good nature and incessant epigram, the music of Haydn will always be more popular; but, in the opinion of some judges, Beethoven is more sublime. Some assert, at least plausibly, that the public ear is not yet sufficiently informed, to appreciate his music; but that the time will come, when he will be thought, at least equal to Haydn and Mozart. His oratorio of *Christ on the Mountain of Olives*, is a work of extraordinary pathos, and abounds with terrible beauties.

It may be observed that both Haydn and Mozart wrote for instruments, rather than the voice. The consequence is, that the melody seldom continues long in one part, but is distributed through all the parts; so that it cannot be seized by unlearned hearers; or even by the learned, unless they are accustomed to the symphonious arrangement of melody. In the celebrated *Don Giovanni* of Mozart, this is very observable. It may, therefore, be thought to admit of doubt, whether there be not as much of fashion as feeling, in the loud and long-continued applause, which is bestowed on that elegant, fanciful, and sublime, but very scientific composition.

III. 4.

The French School.

MOST sincerely subscribing to the anathema, which Rousseau has pronounced against French Music, and to which all Europe, except France herself, has assented by acclamation, you will not be troubled with any account of it, in these lines. But you will not perhaps be displeased to find in them, the following short historical outline of the history of the French Drama.

The scenic exhibitions of Rome did not survive her: the theatres themselves, and all their pride, pomp and circumstance, perished in the general wreck, to which, the irruptions of the barbarians reduced the arts and sciences of the Roman world.

The first glimmering of the restoration of the drama is discernible in some exhibitions, which generally made a part of the national feasts of the Carlovingian monarchs. These feasts were opened by a grand high mass; the deliberation followed, and was succeeded by

a sumptuous dinner. After dinner, shows of foreign beasts, and of animals trained to particular tricks and exercises, were exhibited; and balled singers, harpers and jugglers, the rude forefathers of the modern drama, also attended, and contributed their share to the festivities of the day.

Chivalry introduced into them, magnificence, order and refinement. It is probable that the tilts and tournaments of the feudal ages excelled, whatever ancient or modern times have produced in the form of public spectacle; and to these, we owe the revival of the scenic art. The provençal bards often appeared at them, in companies, and recited tragic or comic poems. By degress, they formed them into dialogues; and to make their dialogues more interesting, put on a dress and gait suitable to those of the persons, whose characters they assumed. From this, the passage to an exhibition, possessing all the substantial requisites of a scenic entertainment, was easy; and as nothing could be more congenial than these exhibitions, to the taste and manners of a chivalrous age, they soon attained a high degree of order. But there was more of pageantry in them, than of dialogue, and every thing about them had a military air. Devotion, however, had some share in them; so that there were both secular and religious dramas. They were distinguished into *mysteries*, in which, remarkable events in the scriptures, or in the lives of the saints, were represented; *allegories*, in which faith, hope, charity, sin and death, and other mystic beings, were introduced to speak and act in personification; and *moralities*, in which, sometimes real, and sometimes fictitious characters were brought into scenic action, and a general moral was drawn from the exhibition. Of these entertainments, the mysteries were

most popular: they were sometimes performed in churches. "We cannot sufficiently wonder," says the president Hénault (*Remarques particulières sur l'histoire de France, troisième race*), "that these mysteries were represented under the sanction of the most respectable magistrates. Jesus Christ, the Holy Virgin, whatever is most sacred in religion, was brought on the stage in a guise of familiarity, to which we cannot reconcile ourselves. But the difference of the times solves the enigma; and while it shows the ignorance and simplicity, proves the good-humoured innocence of the age, which was fond of such exhibitions. We must not suppose that they were profanations of religion; they were spectacles, which, by placing religious subjects before their eyes, in a manner highly calculated to impress them on their conceptions and feelings, conveyed instruction to a gross and ignorant people. And after all, are we not fallen on times, which make us regret this age of simplicity, in which there was so little of false reasoning, and so much of honest belief!"

A confraternity, under the appellation of *the confraternity of the Holy Passion*, obtained from the parliament of Paris, a patent, which conferred on the members of it, the exclusive right of representing dramatic exhibitions in the city of Paris; but the disorders to which they gave rise, induced the parliament, in 1541 and 1548, to forbid their representing sacred subjects. At a much earlier period, the exhibition of them in churches had been absolutely prohibited by the clergy. When these sacred exhibitions were interdicted to the confraternity of the Holy Passion, they assigned their privilege to a troop of comic actors, called the '*enfants sans souci*.' There were other companies, but the *enfants sans souci* were always the favourite performers. Their

privilege was revoked in 1584. They were succeeded by a company called '*the Gelosi*;' and these, by the company called '*l'elite royal*, which, in 1641, was indirectly sanctioned by an edict of Lewis the XIII, the Magna Charta of the French theatre. This company afterwards divaricated into two branches; one established itself at the Hotel de Bourgogne, and the other at the hotel d'Argent aux Marais. The abolition of tilts and tournaments, the revival of the arts and sciences, the merit of some dramatic writers, the great extension of the city of Paris, the increase of its wealth, and of the number of its idle inhabitants, and the consequential diffusion of gallantry, produced, in the capital, an universal passion for stage entertainment. It rapidly pervaded every part of the kingdom, so that, towards the end of the reign of Lewis the XIV. there scarcely was, in his dominions, a town of any consequence, which had not its theatre. The introduction of the Italian opera in France, in 1633, carried dramatic song and dance to their utmost pitch of refinement.

Such was the rise and progress of the French stage. It was always viewed by the state, with a considerable degree of jealousy. A capitulary of Charlemagne, of the year 809, ranks theatrical performers among discreditable persons. In 1181, Philip Augustus banished actors from his court; St. Lewis would never admit them to it. Lewis the XIII. subjected the theatre to severe regulations:—these were adopted, and others provided by a legislative enactment, which, in 1680, Lewis the XIV. addressed, in the form of a letter, to the lieutenant-general de police. It seems to carry precaution, for the prevention of improper representations on the stage, and repressing immorality among the actors, as far as practical precaution, in these respects,

can be carried. Lewis XIV. placed the opera on a magnificent establishment, and gave the direction of it to Lulli, a musician of learning and genius. His instrumental band, called his 24 violins, were once renowned over Europe, But to use an expression of Doctor Burney, their abilities were not of a kind to continue the miraculous powers ascribed to Orpheus and Amphion.

III. 5.

Dispute in France on the lawfulness of Stage Entertainments.

It will be readily conceived, that the church of France was more severe on scenic exhibitions, than the state. A multitude of French provincial councils are mentioned by French writers on this subject, which speak harshly of them: their censures of ecclesiastics, who frequent the theatre, are pointedly severe. The passages against the stage, which are cited from the rituals of particular churches of France, are numerous. Among the writers against the stage, its adversaries are proud to mention, one of the royal blood of France, Francis Lewis, Prince of Conti. The uniform practice of the curates of the Gallican church, was, to refuse the sacraments to theatrical performers, even in their last moments, unless they made a public promise that they would not appear again on the theatre; and if they did not make this declaration, Christian burial was denied to their remains.

Still the theatre was always frequented; and among those, who frequented it, persons of the highest character, for probity, honour, and an exemplary discharge both of moral and religious duty, were always found. This

was admitted by Bossuet, the celebrated bishop of Meaux, and perhaps the ablest of all the adversaries of the drama. "Great examples," he told Lewis the XIV. "may be cited in defence of the théâtre; but the reasons against it are still stronger than the examples." It is related that a lady mentioned, in confession to father Bourdaloue, that she had been to the play, and asked him, if she had sinned? "That," said the good father, "I am to hear from you."

In this conflict of example and argument, on the lawfulness of stage entertainments, father Caffaro, a Theatine monk, undertook their defence, and proved himself an able advocate of their cause. The successive examples of Corneille, Quinault and Racine, who had quitted the theatre to lead a life of religious retirement, and who had publicly expressed repentance of their dramatic performances, (and whose example was followed, in 1760, by Gressët, the author of the immortal *Vert Vert*)—awakened similar sentiments of compunction in Boursault, a dramatic writer of some eminence in his day, and he confided his scruples to father Caffaro. The father's reply to Boursault first appeared with the title "*Lettre d'un Theologien, illustre par sa qualité et par son merite, consulté, pour sçavoir si la comedie peut être permise, ou doit être absolument defendue*;" but after the first edition of it, the words, "*Theologien illustre par sa qualite*," were dropt in the title, and the work was announced as the letter "*d'un homme d'erudition et de merite*." It is generally prefixed to the "*Theatre de Boursault*:" in the edition of that work in 1725, it is now before the writer's eye.

Father Caffaro begins his letter with an acknowledgment, which may be thought to make the defence of the stage an arduous undertaking. "The more I examine

the holy fathers," these are his own expressions, "the more I read the works of theologians, the more I consult the casuists, the less I feel myself able to form any conclusion. The school divines are somewhat less hostile to the theatre; but I hardly find a passage in them, which sounds in its favour, when I feel myself overwhelmed by a torrent of passages from councils and fathers of every age, who have thundered against the theatre, and employed all the fervour of their zeal and powers of their eloquence, to make it an object of horror to christians." He eludes the sentence, which these high authorities seem to pronounce against the stage, by bringing before the reader, the abominations with which the theatrical representations of Rome abounded, and from which the theatre of his and our times is certainly free. "But, you must read the fathers very carelessly," Bossuet indignantly replies, "if you find that, in the theatrical exhibitions of their times, the fathers condemned nothing more than their idolatrous representations, or their scandalous and open impurities. They equally condemn the idleness, the enormous dissipation of spirit, the violent emotions so little becoming a christian, whose heart should be the sanctuary of the peace of God; the desire of seeing and being seen, the criminal occurrence of looks, the being engrossed with vanity, those bursts of laughter, which banish from the heart, all recollection of God, of his holy presence, of his awful judgments. In the midst of all this pomp and agitation, who, they ask, can raise his heart to God? Who would be bold enough to address himself to the Deity, and say to him, O my God, I am here because it is thy holy will? In the midst of the silly joy, and silly tenderness of the stage, who can preserve a spirit of prayer? St. John (Ep. I. ch. ii. 15. 16.),

cries out to all the faithful, ' Love not the world, nor that which is in the world : for every thing in it is concupiscence of the flesh, concupiscence of the eyes, or the pride of life." In these words, the world and the theatre, which represents the world, are equally reprobated. In the theatre, as in the world, all is sensuality, ostentation and pride ; in the theatre, as in the world, nothing but a love of these [wretched things is inculcated. —All this and much more is said by the holy fathers, and all of it is applicable to the theatres of the present day."

Father Caffaro cites, in favour of the theatre, several passages in the works of St. Thomas of Aquin, St. Antoninus, Bishop of Florence, St. Charles Boromeo, and St. Francis of Sales. In answer to the arguments, drawn by him from these passages, Bossuet observes, that, in all of them, comedies are mentioned abstractedly ; that is, not as they actually exist, but as, by possibility, they might be constructed. In respect to the passages cited from St. Thomas, Bossuet particularly observes, that St. Thomas cannot be understood to speak in them of comedies, in the actual acceptation of that word ; as comedies, in that acceptation of the word, did not exist in St. Thomas's day. " At all events," Bossuet says to Father Caffaro, " you confess that the writers, whom " you cite, allow no scenic representation to be innocent, which contains any thing contrary to good " morals. Now, whether the scenic representations of " the present times are contrary to good morals, is the " point in discussion between us ; your citations, there- " fore, prove nothing."

In reply to an argument, which Father Caffaro urges in favour of theatrical representations, from their being tolerated by the civil government of every country:

Bossuet observes, that, "if the state permits them, it is not because the state approves them, but because the state is apprehensive that the absolute interdiction of them, might, in great cities, always abounding in vice and luxury, occasion still greater disorders."

After thus endeavouring to remove, what he insinuates to be an unwarrantable prejudice against the theatrical representations of modern times, in consequence of the harsh terms, in which the ancient fathers condemned the stage,—Father Caffaro proceeds to state, that the theatre of his day contained nothing contrary to decency or morality. "Can you," exclaims Bossuet,—"Can you then really assert, in the face of heaven, that dramatic compositions, in which the virtue and piety of a christian are generally held out to ridicule; in which, what the gospel pronounces to be criminal, is generally defended and made agreeable; in which virgin purity is so often blurred by impudent acts and words: Can you really assert that such compositions are free from crime?—Does it become the habit or name of a priest, to defend the silly gallantry, the maxims of love, the invitations to enjoy the gay hours of youth, which for ever resound in the operas of Quinault, whom I myself have seen a hundred times bewailing these follies?—Is it for you, to recal him to compositions, which, since he has begun to think seriously of his salvation, he laments so bitterly?"

"You say, that stage entertainments only excite those passions, indirectly, distantly, and accidentally. But, what is the direct object of those, who compose, of those, who act, and of those, who attend these representations? The wish of the author and the actor is, that the spectator should be enamoured of the heroes and divinities of the theatre; that he should be taught the duty of sacrificing

all but glory, and even glory itself, to love. Is it their wish that this should be taught indirectly, distantly, and accidentally?

"You are sensible that immodest paintings are universally condemned. But, how much more horrid is the indecency of theatrical representations? There, it is not an inanimate marble; it is not a dry tint; all is action itself. The persons are alive; the eyes, the tongue, the gestures are real,—and while they seduce every imagination, and inflame every heart, talk not to me of passions which they excite, indirectly, distantly and accidentally. What are those speeches, which excite youth to love, (as if youth of itself were not sufficiently inconsiderate), which make them envy the very birds, whom nothing disturbs in their loves, and which prompt them to rebel against the laws of reason and modesty? —Do these, and a hundred lessons of the kind, only excite passion, indirectly, distantly and accidentally? If they do not excite it instantly and outrageously, the author, the performer, and the spectator, are equally disappointed.

"After this—do you dare say, either that the end and aim of the theatre is not to excite directly, and, by its own very powers, the fire of concupiscence? Or do you dare say, that concupiscence is not evil? Can you say that the virgin modesty of a well educated daughter, is only distantly and accidentally offended, by the dramatic heroines, who talk over their combats, their resistances, and their defeats. The modest, amiable, virtuous heroine of the theatre, confesses her failings, the seductions of her heart, and the whole theatre applauds her. What a lesson does she give.—How well does she enforce it?"

Father Caffaro then remarks, that he did not discover,

from what he heard in confession, the wonderful malignity of the theatre, or the crimes, of which it is said to be the source: "Probably," says Bossuet, "when you say this, you are not thinking of what actresses, and singers have to confess, or of the scandals of their loves. Is it nothing to sacrifice the sex to public sensuality, in a manner still more fatally dangerous, than is done in places which cannot be named? What christian mother, or, if she were a pagan, what decent mother, would not behold her child in the grave, sooner than behold her on the stage?—Was it for this disgrace, she would say, that I reared her, with so much tenderness and care? Did I preserve her day and night under my wings for this public prostitution? Who does not look on these christians, if, living in a profession so opposite to their baptismal vows, they may yet be called christians; who, I say, does not look on them as slaves exposed to sale, in a public market? Their sex consecrated them to modesty, to the retirement of a well regulated house; and how do they appear on the theatre? Do they not appear with all the parade of those sirens in the temple of Vanity, so well described by Isaiah, whose looks are deadly, and who receive back, in the applause, which is given them, the poison which they fling among the spectators? Is it no crime, for a spectator to pay for this luxury? none, to nourish this corruption?—none, to teach them or learn from them, what ought never to be known?"

"But," says Father Caffaro, "you can't take a step, open a book, or even enter a church, without meeting with something which excites your passions;—it is, therefore, no objection to the theatre, that you find in it objects which excite them."—"The reasoning is excellent," says Bossuet:—"the world abounds with unavoidable dangers; therefore, you should multiply

them. Every creature you meet with is a snare to man; you may therefore invent new snares for his ruin. Every object that meets your eyes, may excite your passions; you may therefore add to your dangers by seeking objects, whose elegance and refinement make them more dangerous.—Rather say,—the dangers of the world are already too great, let us not add to them:—God vouchsafes his assistance to us, in dangers inseparable from our condition, but he abandons us in dangers of our own seeking; he has assured us that all who love danger shall perish in it.”

Such is the general tone of Bossuet's reply. It was communicated privately to Father Caffaro. He almost immediately answered it, by a letter, in which he protested that the letter which he had addressed to Bour-sault, in defence of the theatre, was not designed for publication; and intimated, that it had been altered in some respects, in the impression; but he seems to admit, that the alterations in it, were not of importance. He professes to be convinced by Bossuet's arguments, of the errors of the doctrines contained in it, and promises to retract them. This promise he performed by a letter addressed by him, a few days after, to the Archbishop of Paris. He expresses in it the great concern, which, his having written the letter in question, had given him; he retracts it unequivocally; and concludes by saying, that, after a full examination of the subject, he was perfectly convinced, that the reasons, urged in defence of stage entertainments, were frivolous; and that the reasons, given by the church, for her condemnation of them, were solid and unanswerable.

The dispute was renewed several times in the course of last century. In the first year of it, the actors on the French theatre presented a petition to the pope, in

which, they represented to his holiness, that it was the year of the centenary jubilee of the church, and therefore a time of indulgence, and benignity; that, since the church had first passed her censure on theatrical exhibitions, they had undergone a complete alteration, and been purged from the indecency and ribaldry, which had provoked those censures; they prayed, therefore, for a removal of them. But his holiness was inexorable; and by his direction, some works, to justify the severity of the church, were published.

Towards the middle of the century, a contest, on the tendency of stage entertainments, took place between Rousseau and D'Alembert.—The latter, in an article in his *Miscellanies*, censured the magistrates of Geneva, for not permitting a theatre within that city: Rousseau undertook the defence of the magistracy, and replied to D'Alembert in a letter, which has been much admired, both for its eloquence and argument. The principal object of it, is to show, that the morality of the stage is not the morality of real probity; that comedy places virtue in a ridiculous light, and makes immorality agreeable; and that tragedy makes crime an object of admiration, by the splendour of talents and glory, with which she radiates it. D'Alembert replied to Rousseau: his letter contains many sensible observations; but, as a literary composition, sinks before that of his antagonist.

In 1761, the celebrated Melle Clairon, professionally consulted M. Huerne de la Motte, a French avocat, on the reprobation of actors by the civil law of France, and the supposed excommunication of them by the Gallican church. M. Huerne de la Motte delivered his opinion, in a long dissertation, in which he attempted to show, that the laws both of the state and the church against the theatre, were founded in prejudice: and that the

supposed excommunication of the actors was an invasion of the liberties of the Gallican church. On the motion of M. Joly de Fleury, the procureur general of the king, the parliament of Paris ordered this dissertation of M. Huerne de la Motte to be burned by the hangman; and, on a general requisition of the French bar, M. Huerne de la Motte was expelled from it.

M. Déspréz de Boissy, in his "*Lettres sur les Spectacles*," (ed. 1774, 2 part, p. 673,) mentions that two individuals having entered into an agreement to establish a new theatre, one of them, from motives of conscience, declined the adventure; that the other instituted, in one of the civil courts of Paris, a suit to compel him to perform his part; and that the court held the contract was morally vicious, and therefore legally void.

III. 6.

The English School of Music.

THE venerable Bede informs us, that when St. Austin and the companions of his mission had their first audience of King Ethelbert, in the Isle of Thanet, they approached him in procession singing Litanies; and that afterwards, when they entered Canterbury, they sung a litany, and at the end of it, Allelujah; but he remarks that our ancestors had been previously instructed in the rites and ceremonies of the Gallican church by St. Germanus, and heard him sing Allelujah, many years before the arrival of St. Austin. He mentions two professors sent from Rome into England to teach music to our Saxon ancestors: he himself was an able musician. A Treatise, *De Musica Theoretica, Practica et Mensurata*, has been ascribed to him.

From this early time to the present, music always

flourished in England; her contrapuntists resembled and rivalled those of the Flemish school. Henry VIII. was a judge of music, and is thought to have been a composer. His reign was illustrated by several contrapuntists of great eminence, particularly *Tallis* and *Byrd*.—Both were Roman Catholics, but are supposed to have accommodated themselves to the changes, which in those times, successively took place in the national religion. They obtained from Queen Elizabeth a patent for the sole printing of music, and music paper.

Luther was favourable to music: his hymn against the Turks and Pope, and the music to which he set it, are generally known. He composed several other hymns; his catechism, and even the confession of Augsburg, were versified and set to music. *Calvin* was an enemy to music. Simple unadorned psalmody, he allowed; but no musical instrument was suffered within the walls of Geneva for more than a hundred years after the reformation. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the choral music of the cathedral service was cultivated with great success. The names of *Dr. Bull*, the first Gresham professor of music, and of *Thomas Morley*, his disciple, one of the gentlemen of the chapel of Queen Elizabeth, are still remembered with respect. The profound skill of the former in harmony was known on the continent. Whilst he was on his travels, he met at St. Omers, with a French musician, who had composed a piece of music in forty parts, and defied the whole world to correct or add to it. Doctor Bull, in two hours, added forty other parts to it.—“The Frenchman,” say Antony Wood, who relates this story, “burst into great ecstasy, and swore that he, who added those forty parts, must be the devil or Doctor Bull.”

Music was proscribed by the Puritans. The organ

and the surplice they held in equal horror. At the restoration, music regained her honours. Orlando Gibbons belongs to the reign of Charles I.; *Matthew Lock*, to that of Charles II. He composed the music for the restoration;—his music for the tragedy of *Macbeth*, is still heard with delight. He was organist to Catherine, the queen consort of Charles II. and lived and died a Roman Catholic.

The immortal PURCELL is the glory of the English school of music. That "worth and skill," which to use Milton's energetic phrase in his sonnet to Henry Lawes, "exempts the man of genius from the throng," few composers have possessed in a higher degree.—Most Englishmen, though with some hesitation, will allow Purcell's inferiority to Handel; but few will acknowledge his inferiority to any other composer. On the other hand, few foreigners feel Purcell's merit. If he had lived half a century later, he would have become acquainted with the Italian compositions of the school of Vinci, and witnessed the powers, and perceived the capabilities, of instrumental music. Had this happened, he would, in all probability, have been more elegant, more sublime, and more impassioned: but he would have been less English. This addition, therefore, to his glory, an Englishman can scarcely wish him to have possessed:—Such as he was, his compositions show how far, without resorting to continental aid, the passion and the expression of English words, and English feelings, can be expressed by English music. For, with all their beauty, their contrivance, and their strength, Purcell's compositions have the true raciness of the English soil.

In this respect, he has been without a successor. We must, however, observe, that two kinds of composition have, for nearly a century, been *peculiar* to this country:

the anthem and the serious glee. The *English anthem* partakes of the nature of the motett of the Flemish school; but it is a considerable improvement on the motett, as it possesses all its harmony and tenfold its elegance, pathos and variety. Several anthems of Purcell, of Doctor Blow, of Doctor Croft, Doctor Green and Doctor Boyce are excellent: The anthem of Doctor Croft, "O Lord, thou hast searched me out and proved me,"—which was performed on the king's recovery from his former malady, is entitled to particular praise. One of the greatest treats, which a real lover of music can receive, is to hear some of these anthems well performed:—but this seldom happens:

Laissons à des chœurs gâgés le soin de louer Dieu.

BOILEAU.

was certainly a practice, much too frequent on the continent; unfortunately, it is in England equally common. Wherever it prevails, it is a crying abuse, and loudly calls on the hierarchy of the country for redress. The musical compositions of foreign growth, which the English anthem most resembles, are the psalms of Marcello. The late Mr. Avison, placed these on a level with the oratorios of Handel: this was absurd; but they certainly possess a high degree of excellence.

English serious glees have long filled a large space in the musical school of England. Several rival the best Italian madrigals; in some of Stafford Smyth's, Doctor Cooke's, and Mr. Webbe's (a younger writer would mention living authors,)—the higher chords are certainly sounded. The glee of Lord Mornington, "Return my lovely maid, return," is one of the most elegant compositions, that has come from a British pen.

But, if favourable reception, and long and unvarying patronage of a composer, continued and almost exclu-

sive admiration of his works, veneration of his name, and eminent honours rendered to his memory, entitle a nation to claim a musician, not born within her territory, for a countryman, England may boast, in Handel, in his works, and in their general diffusion, of a school, that yields to none. His genius beams with particular splendour in his oratorios. "All the Italian writers," says Doctor Burney, "agree that the sacred dramas called *oratoriös*, had their beginning in the time of *San Philippe Neri*, who was born in 1515, and founded the congregation of priests of the oratory of Rome, in 1540. During the service, and after the sermon, it was usual for this saint, among other pious exercises, in order to draw youth to the church, and keep them from secular amusements, to have hymns, psalms, and other spiritual *laudi*, or songs, sung either in chorus, or by a single favourite voice, divided into two parts, the one performed before the sermon, and the other after it. The subject of these pieces was sometimes the good Samaritan; sometimes Job and his friends, the prodigal son, Tobit with the angel, his father and his wife, &c. All these, by the excellence of the composition, the band of instruments, and the performance, brought the oratory into such repute, that the congregation became daily more numerous. And thence, this species of sacred musical drama, wherever performed, in process of time, obtained the general appellation of oratorio. The same writer informs us, that, in the church *San Gerilamo della Carita* at Rome, oratorios are still constantly performed, on Sundays and festivals, from All Saint's day, till Palm Sunday, as well as in the church of *la Vallicella*, where they are likewise performed, from the first of November till Easter.

Handel carried the music of an oratorio to the highest

degree of perfection. Never did a character given of one person, apply to another better, than does the character given by Dr. Johnson of Milton apply to Handel. The doctor says of Milton, that "the characteristic quality of his poem is sublimity. He sometimes descends to the elegant, but his element is the great. He can occasionally invest himself with grace, but his natural port is gigantic loftiness. He can please, when pleasure is required; but it is his peculiar power to astonish. He seems to have been well acquainted with his own genius, and to know, what it was that nature bestowed on him, more bountifully than upon others; the power of displaying the vast, illuminating the splendid, enforcing the awful, darkening the gloomy, and aggravating the dreadful." Such was Milton; such certainly is Handel.

Something of a revolution, in the musical taste of this country, was effected by the queen's introducing into it several German performers of eminence. Unfortunately, it was not the music of the high German school of Hasse, and the elder Bachs; it was the light, elegant, and chaste, but generally unimpassioned school of *John Christian Bach*. A more elevated rank among musicians, than that, which Goldsmith holds among poets, should not be assigned to him;—and perhaps he should be rather classed with Shenstone,—never offending against taste, always possessing sprightliness and grace, but seldom exhibiting a ray of genius. His finest performance, is the "*Chiari fonti*," in *Orphæo*. A further revolution was effected by Clementi's most scientific, but most classic performance on the forte piano;—equalled, but not surpassed, by Cramer, his excellent and unrivalled scholar.

In the execution of the easy, the difficult, the fan-

tastic, the elegant and the sublime, both were supremely great; and when Cramer performed his own adagios, "Venus," to use the words of Horace, "imbued them with the fifth essence of her own nectar." Still the aspirant to perfect performance on a keyed instrument, should give days and nights to the practice of the lessons of Scarlatti and the elder Bachs.—What a degree of excellence on a keyed instrument, an amateur can attain, those, who have heard your, or Miss Hulmandell's finished performance, can imagine :—

Here, Madam, it was my intention to call to your recollection, one of the most interesting musical exhibitions, we ever witnessed :—when Mr. and Mrs. Constable Maxwell,—who always seemed to come to London for the heavenly purpose of doing good,—accommodated Miss Trelawney with their house, for a concert, given in support of her excellent charity ;—and virtue, arrayed by the graces, sung, in the person of Miss Naldi, notes seldom heard from

" Any mortal mixture of earth's mold,"

MILTON.

And all that heard her, blessed her !—But alas !—while I am writing these lines, the friends of Mr. Constable Maxwell are informed of the loss, which they have sustained !—Nothing of him now remains to us, but the recollection of his good works, of his religious probity, his hospitality, his beneficence, and his numerous other estimable and amiable qualities !—

" Bonis multis flebilis occidit."

HOR.

—From the middle of the last century, excellence on the forte piano, appears to have become the great object of female education. Yet, though so much of their time is given by the sex to music, how seldom is a

finished performer to be heard ! To what is this owing ? May it not be that a desire to excel is often mistaken for genius ? " Young Artist," says Rousseau, " inquire not what is genius. Do you possess it ? you feel it. " Do you not possess it ? you will never know what it is. " But do you wish to ascertain whether genius has " smiled upon you ? Run to Naples ! Listen to the " masterpieces of Durante, of Jomelli, of Pergolesi. " If, while you hear them, your eyes fill with tears, " you feel your heart beat, you shiver, you are suffocated " with a transport of delight, take Metastasio, and " compose. His genius will animate your own. Like " him, you will create. But if, while you listen to " these great masters, you remain tranquil, you feel no " transport, if you find them merely pretty,—Dare not " ask what is genius. Vulgar man ! profane not that " sublime word. What will it avail you to know what " genius is ? You will never feel it. Go, compose " French music."—In this, there is exaggeration, but there is truth. Let any one, who lives on terms of intimacy with a professor of real merit, ask of him, confidentially, his genuine sentiments of the real taste for music in this country ; he will confess, that it has seldom occurred to him, to find, in a large boarding school, two, who had a real ear for music.

After all,—supposing this high degree of musical excellence attainable,—should a young lady, should her parents desire, that she should be stared at by all eyes, and fatigue most ears ? Yet this is generally the case at every musical "*at home*," which aspires to a concert.

This observation, however, does not apply to the cultivation of the art, or the practice of it, with moderation,—where the performer aims at no more, than to sing a simple melody, in time and tune, and to obtain

a general knowledge of harmony. When these are acquired, when the words of the song are well chosen,—(which should never be in a language, the perfect knowledge and pronunciation of which the performer does not possess),—when they are sung with decent feeling; and the songster, though pleased to diffuse pleasure among her friends around her, evidently retires from the observing eye,—it is one of the highest gratifications, which it is given to mortals to receive. Perhaps an Italian hypercritic would deny it to be music.—In fact it is something better. Virtue and pleasure alternately smile,—

“ There too, does Hymen oft appear,
In saffron robe, with taper clear.”

MILTON.

But beyond this,—unless where the performer is perfect, and the audience select,—all is distraction and impatience;—it rains ennui.

The subject seems to require some mention of our *national melodies*.—Most beautiful are *Scottish* melodies, sung in their original purity, by Scottish ladies. But French music, sung by a Frenchman, is scarcely more unpleasing, than a Scottish air sung with English embroidery. Several English ballads are highly pleasing. They are always deformed by florid song,—and lose all their effect when harmonised.

The music of the Irish is remarkably pathetic. It is said, (*Ursuline History of Ireland*, vol. 1. p. 14.) that “ a celebrated Italian, after listening to some of their airs, suddenly exclaimed, ‘ that must be the music of a people who have lost their freedom.’ ”

IV.

The Canto Fermo or Plain Song of the Roman Catholic Church.

To this, you particularly wished me to direct my attention;—and it was this circumstance chiefly, that occasioned my troubling you with the preceding pages.

My researches into the origin and variations of the plain song have not been very successful. All that has been said upon it, by Gerbert, the Abbot of Blaise, in his treatise *de Cantu et Musicâ Sacrâ*, 2 vol. 4to, 1774,—by Sir John Hawkins and Doctor Burney, in their *Histories of Music*; by Abbé Lebeuf, in his *Traité historique et pratique sur le Chant Ecclesiastique*, 1 vol. 8vo. 1741;—by Nivers, in his *Dissertation sur le Chant Gregorien*, 1 vol. 8vo. 1683; and Feillée, in his *Methode Nouvelle pour apprendre parfaitement les Regles du Psalmodie*, 1 vol. 8vo, 1811, has been considered by your correspondent, and very little information derived by him from the perusal.

The origin of the Canto Fermo is certainly involved in obscurity. To a certain extent, the Greek modes are preserved in the 8 Gregorian tones; but all are in the diatonic scale. So too, are all the Hebrew airs, with which we are acquainted. But neither the Hebrew nor the Gregorian melodies afford a single instance of the chromatic or enharmonic scales.—We also know that the Greek melodies abounded in quarter tones; now no such tone has ever yet found its way into a Gregorian chant. Rhythm was the essence of Greek music; the Gregorian psalmody is heedless of it. Add to this, that the church came out of the synagogue, and from the first, repudiated

paganism and every imitation of it. These circumstances seem to make it highly probable that the *canto fermo* originated in the music of the synagogue.

All writers on the subject mention the Ambrosian chant, and the improvements of it by Pope Gregory the Great; but, what its state was, in the time of *St. Ambrose*, or what were Pope Gregory's improvements, is far from being ascertained. We know little more, than that, in the time of *St. Ambrose*, it consisted of four tones; that four were added by Pope Gregory; that the Ambrosian tones were called *authentic*, the Gregorian, *plagal*. But in what the difference consisted, it is difficult to say: perhaps the following observations will give some notion of it.

There is an arithmetical and an harmonical division of an octave: each is divided into two serieses; but the arithmetical differs much from the harmonical. In the arithmetical, the first series begins with *ut* below, and ends with *fa* above; the second begins with *sol*, (the following note), and ends with *ut* above. Each is a perfect tetrachord. In the harmonical division, the first series ends with *sol*, or the fifth note of the octave, the second extends from *sol* to the *ut* above. In every octave, *ut* is the key note. Upon this note, the first series of notes in the harmonic division depends, and the cadence in that scale being from *sol*, or the fifth ascending note, is perfect. On this account, this series is termed *authentic*. In the further series, *sol* is substituted for *ut*, and is the key note: the cadence is from *ut*, or the *fourth* above the substituted key note, which is an imperfect cadence. From this substitution and imperfection, the second series has been termed *plagal* or collateral. Probably the Ambrosian chant was limited to the authentic series, and consisted of four melodies; the

first, commencing with *ut* and ending with *sol*; the second, commencing with *re*, and ending with *la*; the third, commencing with *mi*, and ending with *si*; and the fourth, commencing with *fa*, and ending with *ut*. The different dispositions of the whole tones and half tones in these serieses, gave a different cast to the melodies, and each of them was called a *mode*. To each mode, Pope Gregory added the plagal series by extending the first to the *ut*, the second to the *re*, the third to the *mi*, the fourth to the *fa* above. This formed the known distinction between the *authentic* and the *plagal* modes or tones of the canto fermo, or plain song; the 1st, 3rd, 5th, and 7th modes or tones being authentic, the 2nd, 4th, 6th, 8th, being *plagal*.

It is observable, that the division of authentic and plagal modes, is the foundation of response, fugue, and every other contrivance of modern harmony. It was felt, that each series might be made an imitation of the other: thus, after a sentence had been sung in the lower or authentic series, it became usual to sing the following sentence in the higher or plagal series, or the reverse. After harmony was introduced, it was discovered that both parts might move simultaneously. This gave rise to *Fugue*, and afterwards to *Canon*, the highest effort of a contrapuntist, and, speaking generally, rather an exercise for the intellect of the composer than a gratification to the hearer.

In the time of Pope Gregory, and during many subsequent centuries, the natural octave only, without any aid from adventitious sharps or flats, was admitted into music, sacred or secular. Afterwards, the flat *si* was introduced, and considered a legitimate acquisition. *Mi* flat, *fa* sharp, and the sharp seventh in the minor key, though great improvements on the plain song, were

ever rejected by a true Gregorian. The music which admitted them was branded with the appellation of *Musica Ficta*, or *Fictitious Music*. Doctor Burney says, that it was with great difficulty that the orthodox Padre Martini, vanquished his fears of incurring the guilt of impiety, by admitting an accidental flat or sharp into the *canto fermo*.

Thus the only major keys used in the *canto fermo*, are *ut*, *fa* and *sol*, and the only minor keys, are *la*, *re* and *mi*; and in four of these keys, the scale is deficient, as there is no sharp seventh to *sol*, *re*, or *mi*.

Another difference between modern music and the Gregorian song, lies in the *dominant* and *mediant*.

In modern music, the tonic or key note is that, on which all regular melodies depend, and in which they terminate. The tone therefore derives its name and nature from it. The fifth above is said to govern it, as it requires the tonic to be heard after it, at the perfect cadence. In this sense, it is called its *dominant*. The major or minor third holds a middle place between the tonic and the dominant, and from this position, is called the *mediant*.

The Gregorian song has its dominant and its mediant; but the dominant takes its name from its being the note most often heard; and from this circumstance, is frequently mentioned in Gregorian schools, as the key note.—“ Il faut remarquer,” says Father Mersenne, in his *Traité de l'Harmonie Universelle*, p. 248, 249, “ que le pseume est dit se chanter en *fa*, non qu'il n'ait que cette seule note; mais parce qu'il est plus souvent répété que les autres; de là vient qu'on l'appelle dominant, car elle s'entend, plus souvent que les autres et gouverne tous.” The mediant, in the Gregorian note, is applied only to the chaunts of the Psalms, and

denotes the inflections of the melody of the middle of the verse.

The modulations, (in the sense in which we use that word), of many of the Gregorian tones in which the Psalms are sung, are exquisitely beautiful. Palestrina and some of the greatest contrapuntists in Italy have exerted all their skill in discovering and expressing their harmonies: this is always given as a lesson, to the children in the conservatorios.

It is observable, that without resorting to the aid of a single heterodox note, the Gregorian song possesses some modulations of exquisite beauty and effect. Such are the modulations in the tone, to which the Psalm *in Exitu Israel* is sung. The first half of the verse is sung in the key of *ut* with a major third. *Mi* is the dominant note, and from this, it falls to *ut*, then it rises to *re*, which becomes the dominant note of the second half of the verse, and from *re* it falls at once to *la*—which becomes its final close. Nothing can be more pleasing to the ear.

The cause of this pleasure leads to a subject, which has not yet been much attended to, but which may be thought to deserve great consideration:—Whence proceeds the pleasure, which, in consequence of the modulation, a person, unused to harmony, receives from a melody, which, without any accompaniment, modulates from one key into another? This perhaps resolves itself into a question, the solution of which hath hitherto eluded all inquiry,—Whence arises the pleasure we receive from concords, and the pain we receive from discords. We know the relation of each: we can express their intervals; but, on what original grounds, concord gives pleasure, and discord pain, we are totally ignorant.

To this very abstruse inquiry, your correspondent

dares not lead you ;—especially as he feels you must be already quite tired with the length of this epistle.

The plain song of the roman catholic church was sung so well no where as in Flanders and Brabant. There, a voice is common, which is seldom, if ever, heard in England,—a high, full-toned and mellow counter tenor, proceeding wholly from the breast,—a *voce di spetto*.—The choirs of some religious houses, as that of the monks at La Trappe, are reported to have been so well disciplined, that their chant appeared to be that of one voice, of an enormous power. The effect is said to have been very awful. A still more surprising instance of musical discipline, is that of some musical corps in Russia; each member sounds, on a species of horn, one note, and one note only; but sounds it in such perfect time and measure, that the whole body executes a melody of rapidity.

Before I close this letter, I must express a most earnest wish,—and I know it to be yours,—that, to a certain extent at least, the Gregorian song should be restored in the English catholic chapels. No one can be more sensible than I am, of the exquisite beauty of the masses now sung in the chapels of the Bavarian and Portuguese ambassadors. Since the days of Pergolesi, a more exquisite composition for the church, than Garcia's mass, has not been heard; and those, who have not assisted at it, have not heard the most perfect execution of vocal music, at once elegant, pathetic and sublime, that has yet been exhibited in this country.—The words *bonæ voluntatis, laudamus te*, and the *Crucifixus etiam pro nobis*, are masterpieces of learning and pathos, at once simple, elegant, sublime, and,—without which all church music fails,—highly devotional. They will not suffer in

a comparison with the finest passages in the masses of Haydn or Mozart.

But, if the ancient Gregorian masses were sung, as they might be sung, with a little care and practice, would not more pleasure be given to a great majority of the hearers, and more devotion excited in all? The solo verses should be sung by two voices,—trebles, if possible; the other verses should be sung by the general body of the congregation, in exact measure, and with subdued voices. The accompaniment of the organ, should be that, which we hear from our incomparable musical friend, Mr. Novello; chaste, not meagre, learned, not crude, full, not overpowering. A service thus performed, would both delight and kindle devotion.

The restoration of it is devoutly to be wished. But, if we cannot obtain the full extent of our wishes, let us make a compromise. Let us surrender the *Gloria* and the *Agnus Dei* to the canto figurato; but let the canto fermo retain the Kyrie, the Credo and the Sanctus. The Credo was inserted in the liturgy as a profession of faith to be recited by all the faithful; to appropriate it therefore, exclusively to the choir, is directly opposite to the intention of the church, and the holy framers of its liturgy. It may be added, that, being a mere enunciation or profession of doctrine, it is not a proper subject for figurate song. So much is this the case that, in Italy, a composer of a mass seldom thinks of composing music for the Credo. Ricci's mass had no music for it, when he arrived with it in this country. Mr. Paxton, but not without difficulty, persuaded him to add the Credo. A long musical *Kyrie* retards too much the ceremonial of the mass. A long musical *Sanctus* interferes too much with the elevation, for which

no music perhaps is so proper, as a solemn silence, followed by a slow strain of the organ's softest notes.—Let us hope that the day will come, when the high mass of the English catholics will be thus celebrated.

“When one considers,” says Rousseau, “that, of all the nations of the earth who have either music or song, the European nations alone have harmony and chords, and alone find the mixture agreeable: When we recollect that the world had existed so many ages, before any polished nation cultivated the science of harmony; that no animal, no bird, no being in nature produces any concord but unison, or any other music than melody; that the oriental languages, at once so sonorous and so musical,—that the ears so nice, so delicate, and so highly cultivated of the Greeks, never led that voluptuous and impassioned people to harmony; that without it, their music had such prodigious effect; that with it, our music is so feeble,—that it was reserved for the northern nations, whose hard and gross organs are more affected by the display and noise of the voice, than by the accents and melody of its inflections; to have the merit of this discovery, and of establishing the principles of the art:—When we attend to all these circumstances, it is very difficult not to suspect, that all our harmony is a barbarous and gothic invention, of which we never should have thought, if we had been more sensible to the true beauties of the art and to music really natural.”

Finally,—thousand after thousand quitted France to sing the psalms of Marot. Beautiful and exquisitely beautiful as are Marcello's psalms, would a single person quit his native soil, to hear the psalms of Marcello? If the evangelical sects gain so much on the establish-

ment,—is it not principally because the churches of the former abound with strains, which all must feel, and in which most may join.

V.

Music of the English Catholic Chapels.

WE have mentioned that the celebrated *Matthew Lock* was a catholic.

Of *Doctor Arne*, we may also boast. He composed for the choir of the Sardinian ambassador two masses,—one in four, the other in three parts;—the latter did not please, the former was exquisite. It is, what all church music should be, solemn and impressive; the harmony correct and simple; the melody slow and graceful. Unfortunately, the thinness of the catholic choirs in those times, made them drop the contra-tenor and tenor parts, and sing only the canto and base. This entirely spoilt the beauty of the composition.

The late *Mr. Samuel Webbe*, a distinguished composer of serious glees,—and though not the first, certainly in the very first line of that scientific and pleasing branch of music, was a roman-catholic. In addition to his profound skill in music, he acquired a respectable degree of knowledge of the French, Italian, Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages. He was such a master of the Italian language, that once, on an emergency, he performed the part of Mengotto in the *Buona Figliuola*; and so well versed in the Hebrew language, that the Rabbi Uzzielli mentioned to the writer, that he never knew a gentleman, who had acquired so perfect a pronunciation of that language, according to the vowel points. On your correspondent's expressing his surprise to Mr. Webbe at his

having acquired so much extraneous knowledge, notwithstanding the great professional demand on his time; he answered, that it was "by a rigid observance of two rules,—never to let a bit or scrap of time pass unemployed, and whatever he did, to fix his whole mind upon it."

During the short reign of James the Second, *Signor Bassani* was the maestro di capelli of the catholic service of the chapel royal :—he composed two volumes of motetts, for single voices ; two of these motetts, "*Aligeri Amores*," and "*Quid Arma, Quid Bella*," were frequently sung in private concerts, till the middle of the last century.

Mr. Defesch, the organist of the Venetian ambassador, was eminent in his time : and from an oratorio, which he composed, *Mr. Barbant*, an Hanoverian, the organist of the Bavarian ambassador, acquired a temporary celebrity. After this, the music of the catholic choirs fell to the lowest possible state. It was revived by *Mr. Webbe* ; but, having generally an imperfect choir to execute his compositions, he seldom struck the higher chords.

Some of the finest services of Haydn and Mozart, and recently the service composed by *Signor Garcia*, which we have already mentioned, are now excellently performed at the Bavarian chapel. Even in this era of musical excellence, it may be doubted whether those, who have not heard that service performed as it now is, by *Begrez*, by *Garcia*, and by the *Naldis*,—have heard the most perfect singing, which England possesses. It may be added, that, for perfect organ accompaniment, a catholic may confidently stake *Mr. Novello*, the organist of the chapel of the Portuguese ambassador, against all England.

But, with great veneration for the excellence, both of the composers and performers of these sacred strains, the writer has no hesitation in repeating his wish that the ancient Gregorian song was restored to its pristine honours.

I have the honour to be,
with the greatest respect,
Your obedient humble Servant,
Charles Butler.

To Mrs. Edward Jerningham.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

THE JESUITS.

Παράθεσις μὲν ἀποστολῶν δι.

TO the memory of his ever revered and ever lamented friend, SIR ALEXANDER STRACHAN Bart., a distinguished Member of the Society of Jesus,—whose kindness will never escape the remembrance or the gratitude of the writer,—the following Historical Memoirs of that interesting order, are inscribed. They may be found to give some account,—I. Of their rise and progress: II. Of their mode of instruction and education: III. Of the services rendered by them to literature: IV. Of the services rendered by them to religion, morality, and the diffusion of a proper spirit of subordination to government: V. Of their missions in Paraguay: VI. Of their missions in China: VII. Of their anti-christian and anti-roman-catholic adversaries: VIII. Of their roman-catholic adversaries: IX. Of the objections to them from the extraordinary privileges, supposed to be conferred on them, by papal bulls and briefs: X. Of the dissolution of the society: XI. And of its restoration.

I.

Of the rise and progress of the Jesuits.

It is universally known, that the Society of Jesus was founded by St. Ignatius, a descendant of a noble family in Spain. Having unreservedly dedicated himself to God, and spent many years in prayer and penance, he conceived the noble plan of establishing a religious order, or a perpetual succession of men, dedicated to God, who should be constantly and actively engaged in promoting his glory and the spiritual welfare of their neighbour: Part of them, to be employed in the education of youth, in piety and learning; part, in the general instruction of the faithful; part, in defending the catholic faith against error; and part, in propagating the faith of Christ among infidel nations.

“For this purpose,” says Father Bouhours, his best biographer, “he placed before his eyes, the two different forms of active and contemplative life; the former of which, after the model of Martha, is wholly employed in the service of our neighbour, and the other, after that of Magdalen, is wholly absorbed in the repose of contemplation.

“He easily discerned, that the functions of these two states, taken separately, and in their whole extent, did not agree with his design: and that he ought to choose from both, that, which was best; and to mingle them so equally, that they should help, and not hinder one another: for, in the conclusion, however little may be the resemblance between Martha and Mary, they still are sisters, not enemies. He took, therefore, from contemplative life, mental prayer, the examinations of

conscience, the reading of the holy scriptures, the frequentation of the sacraments, spiritual retirement, the exercises of the presence of God, and other similar practices of devotion. He took, from active life, all that might contribute to save and bring to perfection the souls of our neighbours; preaching, catechising, missions, as well amongst the faithful as amongst infidels; visiting hospitals, the direction of consciences, and the instruction of youth. But this last, he more particularly regarded: for, in the general corruption, which then reigned, he thought he could reform the world by no better means, than infusing the love of virtue into children, before they had contracted evil habits. He hoped that those young plants, growing up with christian impressions, would make innocence flourish in all states and conditions in civil life."

Such was the object of St. Ignatius, in forming the Society of Jesus. With deep meditation, and always at the foot of the cross, he framed the constitutions, by which it was to be governed. "The wisdom, the unction, the zeal and consummate knowledge of men, which appear," says Mr. Alban Butler, in his life of St. Ignatius, "throughout this work, will be a perpetual and manifest monument of the admirable penetration, judgment, and piety of St. Ignatius. He wrote his Constitutions in Spanish; but they were translated into Latin, by his secretary, father Polancus." The first edition of them appeared at Rome, in 1558, and 1559. The last and best edition, at Prague, in 1757.

In 1540, the institute was solemnly approved by a bull of pope Paul III.: more than forty other bulls have confirmed it, and extended the privileges of the order; it is termed, "pious and holy," by the council of Trent.

St. Ignatius survived the approbation of his institute, no longer than sixteen years : but, during this short period, St. Francis Xavier, and his companions, had converted thirty nations to the faith of Christ, and baptized, with their own hands, a million of idolaters : Above one hundred schools, under the direction of the Jesuits, had been founded in Italy, in Germany, in Portugal and Spain ; and incessant applications were received for others. The whole catholic world was delighted with the good that was done, and the good that was promised : " Let us not despair," said Cardinal Commendon, one of the brightest ornaments of the sixteenth century, on his return from his German legation,—“ All difficulties, that impede the progress of religion and virtue, may be overcome, by the means of the fathers of the Society of Jesus. This is the opinion of his imperial majesty, of the princes, and even of the people of Germany. What these fathers have already done, shows, what may be expected from their zeal. Their exemplary lives, their sermons, their colleges, have supported and will ever support religion. Multiply then the Jesuits, multiply their colleges, and their academies ; you will find that the fruits, which religion will gather from them, will exceed your expectations.” The advice was universally accepted ; the church and state of every catholic nation called for the Jesuits. In 1537, when St. Ignatius presented himself and his companions to the Pope, their number did not exceed, 6 : at the expiration of the first century of the order, it reached 19,000.

II.

Their mode of Instruction and Education.

OF Socrates, it was said, that he brought down philosophy from the heavens to common life : of the Jesuits, it may be truly said, that, in imitation of their divine model, they made the knowledge of religion and the practice of it familiar to every rank and order of society. They spread themselves, over towns and over villages, to teach the catechism to children, in their very earliest years ; to afford them more solid instruction, as their years increased ; and to prepare them, at a more advanced age, for the sacrament of the holy table. To excite them to devotion, and to confirm them in their good resolutions, they established certain devotional practices, which impressed them with religious feelings ; and formed religious associations, which, by uniting several in the observance of the same pious exercises, excited emulation, restrained the wandering, animated the tepid, and inflamed the fervent.

Their schools were equally open to the noble and the ignoble, to the wealthy and the poor. All were subject to the same discipline ; rose at the same early hour, were fed by the same plain diet, received the same instructions, might attain the same rewards, and were subject to the same punishments. Surveying the school, the refectory, or the play garden of a Loyolan college, no person could distinguish a boy of sixteen quarters, from a peasant's son. At the Collège de Clermont, the grand Condé, said his lesson, and did every other exercise, in the ranks, as a common boy. His impetuous mind, which, at a future time, disdained

and burst through every restraint, showed all its fire, but burned with regulated heat, while he remained within the walls of Clermont. It may be added, that, through life he preserved his affection for the society, and that, in his last very edifying hours, he was attended by one of its Fathers.

It is admitted, that the Jesuits were singularly pleasing to their scholars. "Their polite manners," says M. de Chateaubriant, "banished from their lessons, the tone of pedantry, so displeasing to youth. As most of the professors were men of letters, whose company was sought by the world at large, their disciples thought themselves in a polite academy; friendships were formed between them and their masters, which ever afterwards subsisted for their mutual good."

No attachment could exceed that of a boy brought up under them, to his master. "I myself," says one of the authors of the *Reponse aux assertions*, speaking of their final banishment from France, "was present at the moment of the separation of the scholars, from their masters in the Collège de Louis le Grand. Stupified with grief, they tore themselves, either in silent sorrow or with tears and sobs, from the embraces of their masters. Our enemies know that I exaggerate nothing. They themselves beheld it, and it increased their irritations: they comforted themselves by hoping that, in time, the impression would die away."

III.

The Services rendered by them to Literature.

LEARNING has not been more ably cultivated or more actively diffused than by the Jesuits. They possessed, in the supreme degree, the art of unfolding talent, and

directing it to the object, in which nature designed its owner to excel. Did a young Jesuit discover a talent for the pulpit? His masters were sure to discover it, and he became a Bourdaloue, a La Rue, a Segaud, a Neuville, or a Beaurégard. Did he discover a turn for serious studies, for literary discussion, for philosophy, for mathematics, for theology, for profound research? To these, he was directed, and became a Petau, a Sirmond, a Cossart, a Bougeant, a Tournemine, a Rossweide, or a Papebrooch. Was he enamoured with classical lore, or with poetry? He was consigned to the muses, and became a Brumoi, a Cergeau, a Bouhours, a Rapin, a Comire, a Vanier, a Jouvençi, or a Berthier; and the fruits of his pen, always elegant, but always chaste and always moral, found their way into the hands of every man of taste and letters. Whoever has read in the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* those of *Father Sicard* on Egypt, must allow that Mr. Gibbon's wish respecting Volney, "that he might travel over the world," would be applied with much better reason to Father Sicard. Whoever has read, in the same letters, that of *Father Pons*, on Braminical mythology, will be surprised to find how much it anticipated of that valuable body of information, since communicated to us in the *Asiatic Researches*.

But the Jesuits had no philosophers! So said d'Alembert. So said la Chalotais. "When I read this assertion," says la Lande, the celebrated astronomer, "I was employed in framing the Index of my history of Astronomy. I immediately drew up a list of Jesuits eminent in that science: I was astonished at their number. After this, in 1773, I met la Chalotais at Saintes; I reproached him with his injustice, and he admitted it. But the Jesuits were then no more! Two men, Cavalho and Choseuil, had destroyed the most beautiful edifice constructed by man! An edifice, to which no establishment under heaven will ever approach! The eternal

object of my admiration, my gratitude and my regrets." Such is the candid language of la Lande.—Men of learning, whatever be your pursuits, your country, or your creed, Ask your own hearts if you have not some obligation to the Jesuits? Have they not opened to you some door to knowledge? Some to science? Some to taste? Have they not abridged to you some literary labour? Soothed to you some scientific toil?—Men of learning,—wherever you are,—love the Jesuits, —To all of you, they have been friends.

It is observable, that the system of educating children, in graduated bands, taught and inspected by one of themselves, for which Lancaster and Bell enjoy so much rival fame, was in universal use among the Jesuits before the 17th century. Nor should it be forgotten that they had preceded this country in the noble efforts for the abolition of the slave trade. No friend to that measure can read the 23d chapter of Mr. Southey's excellent *History of Brazil*, without venerating the exertions of *Father Lorenzana* in this glorious cause.

IV.

The Services rendered by them to Religion, Morality, and the diffusion of a proper spirit of subordination to Government.

BUT the zeal of the Jesuits was not confined to the catechism, or the college. The pulpits resounded with their predication; confessionals abounded with their penitents; the sacred tables, with their disciples; and repentance and resignation, flocked with them, at all hours, into hospitals and prisons. They had their ascetics and their contemplatives; but the devotion of common life,—that devotion, in describing and inculcating which, in his "*Introduction to a devout Life*," St. Francis of Sales, was so eminently successful,—the

Jesuits had a particular talent, in disseminating. The most useful of all pious practices, but till then, too much confined to the cloister, pious meditations on the life of Christ, on the four last things, and the motives of loving or fearing God, they adapted to the most ordinary capacities. The *Exercises of St. Ignatius*, a course of meditations, composed by him for the general use of the faithful, are equally suited to the highest and the meanest capacities: no one has yet read them without fruit.

More than thirty years after the suppression of the society, the following character was given of it by "M. Baussét, ancien évêque d'Alais, du chapitre "imperial de St. Denis, et conseiller titulaire de "l'université imperiale," in his very interesting life of Fenelon.

"The institute of the Jesuits," (says M. de Baussét,) "to which no other institute ever has been, or ever "could be compared, for the energy, the foresight, or "the depth of conception, which traced its plan, and "combined its springs of action, was designed, in its "creation, to embrace within the vast employments of "its attributes and functions, all classes, all conditions, "all elements, which enter into the harmony or verge "of political or religious power.

"Ascending to the epocha of its establishment, it is "easily perceived, that the public, and avowed object "of the institute, was, in religion, to defend the catholic "church against the lutherans and calvinists; and that "its object in politics, was to protect social order, and "the established government of every country, against "the torrent of anarchical opinions, which always advance on a line with religious innovations. Wherever "the Jesuits made themselves heard, they preserved all "classes of society, in a spirit of order, wisdom, and

“ consistence. Called, in their first origination, to the
“ education of the principal families of the state, they
“ extended their cares to the inferior classes: they kept
“ them in the happy habits of religious and moral
“ virtue. Such, particularly, was the useful object of
“ the numerous congregations which they erected, in
“ almost every town, and which they had the talent of
“ connecting with every profession, with every social
“ institution. Simple and easy exercises of piety,
“ familiar instructions, proportioned to every condition,
“ and no wise interfering with the labours or duties of
“ society, served to uphold, in every state of life, that
“ regularity of manners, that spirit of order and subor-
“ dination, and that wise economy, which preserve
“ peace and harmony in families, and assure the pros-
“ perity of empires.—The principal towns of France
“ still remember, that there never were more order and
“ tranquillity, more probity in dealings, fewer failures,
“ or less depravation, than while these congregations
“ lasted.

“ Profoundly versed in every branch of knowledge,
“ the Jesuits availed themselves, with great ability, of
“ this circumstance, to acquire the consideration always
“ attached to superior lights and talents. The con-
“ fidence of all catholic governments, the success of
“ their method of instruction, caused the deposit of
“ public education to pass, almost entirely, into their
“ hands.

“ They had the merit of attracting honour to their
“ religious and moral character, by a severity of man-
“ ners, a temperance, a nobility, and an individual
“ disinterestedness, *which even their enemies could not*
“ *contest them.* This is the fairest answer they can make
“ to the satires, which accused them of relaxed morality.

“ This body was so perfectly constituted, that it never

“ had either infancy or old age. We see it in the first
“ days of its birth, forming establishments in every
“ catholic state; intrepidly combating all the sects
“ which spring from lutheranism; founding missions in
“ the east, and the deserts of America, and traversing
“ the Chinese, Japanese and Indian seas.—The order
“ existed during two centuries, and it still had the full
“ vigour of its maturity. To its latest breath, it was
“ animated by the spirit which gave it birth. It had
“ no original imperfections, which called for a supply
“ of new laws.

“ The emulation which it occasioned was one of its
“ necessary effects; and was useful even to its rivals.
“ All of it expired together, and it dragged in its fall,
“ the madmen, who imprudently triumphed in its
“ catastrophe!

“ It will never be explained by what spirit of giddi-
“ ness, the governments of which the Jesuits had best
“ deserved, were so unwisely led to deprive themselves
“ of their most useful defenders.—The puerile causes,
“ the laughable accusations, which served as a pretence
“ for their proscription, are now scarcely remembered;
“ —but it is remembered, that the judges, who declared
“ the whole body convicted of the greatest crimes,
“ could not point out, among all the members which
“ composed the order, a single guilty individual. The
“ destruction of the Jesuits was a deadly wound to the
“ education of youth, in all catholic Europe,—a re-
“ markable confession, equally in the mouths of their
“ friends and enemies.

“ The society knew how to make its misfortunes
“ redound to their honour, by supporting them with a
“ noble and tranquil courage. The religious and un-
“ conquered resignation of the members of the order,
“ attested the purity of its principles and feelings.

“ These men, who were described so dangerous, so powerful, so vindictive, bowed, without a murmur, under the terrible hand that crushed them; they had the generosity to respect and mourn over the weakness of the pontiff destined to sacrifice them. The proscription of them was the essay, and served for the model of those cruel sports of fury and folly, which destroyed, in a moment, the wisdom of ages, and devoured, in one day, the riches of past and future generations.”

The formal judgment given by the bishops of France, on four articles proposed to them by Lewis XV. in 1761, relative to the government, the doctrine, the conduct, and the usefulness of the French Jesuits, is a further, and certainly a very strong testimony in their favour. It adds to its weight, that, at this time, the gale of promotion veered to the opposite direction, and an expression of a contrary opinion was therefore much more likely to be grateful to the court, and to propitiate its favours.

V.

Their Missions in Paraguay.

BUT to appreciate justly the merits of the Jesuits, we must traverse the ocean, and contemplate the Jesuit missionary, with his breviary under his arm, his beads at his girdle, and his crucifix in his hand, presenting himself to the barbarous, suspicious, and cruel inhabitants of the Indian woods or morasses. Sometimes he is immediately massacred*; sometimes, the savages

* From two works of character,—*Societas Jesu, usque ad sanguinem et Vitæ profusionem militans, pro Deo, fide, ecclesiâ, pietate*:—*Sive Vita et Mors eorum, qui ex societate Jesu, in causâ fidei et virtutis propugnata, violentâ morte sublatis sunt*: Auctore R. P. Matthiâ Tanner, e Soc. Jesu, S. S. Theologia Doctore; Praga, 1675. And *Fasti Societatis Jesu*;

fly from him:—he runs after them, and, by words or signs points at the heavens, and announces to them his wish to render them worthy of being the inhabitants of that better world. He shows them his crucifix; he informs them that the Son of God, whose image they behold on it, died on the cross for them, to free them from darkness, and to obtain for them everlasting life. He makes them little presents; or sings to them a pious canticle. By degrees, he obtains their affection and confidence. Then, he propounds to them the saving truths of the gospel; these penetrate their hearts:—Finally, like the Eunuch, in the acts of the Apostles, they pray for the sacred water of regeneration: one after another, they flock to the sacred fount; by degrees, the whole community becomes christian. Their rudeness, savageness, barbarism, and immorality disappear; they become mild, benevolent, humane and holy. Other communities join them.

Thus, were three hundred thousand Indian Savages collected in Paraguay; reclaimed from barbarism and vice, and exhibited, in the simplicity of their manners, and the purity of their minds, the mild and unpretending virtues of the primitive christians. To the happiness and piety of this fortunate portion of humanity, several writers of the first eminence, a Muratori, Montesquieu, Raynal, and Leibniz bear ample testimony. Mr. Southey the poet laureat, though generally hostile, in his writings, to the catholic religion and to catholic institutions of every kind, observes, that, “ the Indians could

Opera & Studio R. P. Joan. Drows, S.S. Praga, anno 1750;—it appears that, in Africa 68,—in Asia 131,—and in America 55 Jesuits had, before that time, suffered death, often after grievous torments,—for propagating the faith of Christ.—The number of those, who have since suffered death in the same cause, cannot be inconsiderable.

not contemplate without astonishment the conduct of the Jesuits ; their disinterested enthusiasm, their indefatigable perseverance, and the privation and danger, which they endured for no earthly reward. They, who had only heard of these wonderful men, became curious of seeing them ; but they, who once came within the influence of such superior minds, and felt the contagion of example, were not long before they submitted to the gainful sacrifice of their old superstitions." *History of Brazil, Vol. II. p. 299, 300.*—In a subsequent part of the same work, Mr. Southey notices the pomp, with which the secular year of the foundation of the Society of Jesus was solemnized in South America. "At one place," we are told by him, "six hundred triumphal arches were erected by the Indians, and decorated with all the ornaments and good things, which they possessed: a display of the benefits, which they, above all men, derived from the society: *the centenary of their institution could not be celebrated by these tribes with more gratitude and joy, than were justly due.*" *Ib. p. 331, 332.*

Father Claver spent forty-four years in procuring spiritual and temporal comfort for the negro slaves at Carthagena, and in the adjoining country: he was called *The Slave of the Negroes* *.

* The subject invites to the mention of Father Thomas, an Augustinian friar, of the illustrious house of Andrada, in the Asturias ; who accompanied king Sebastian, of Portugal, in his unfortunate expedition into Africa ; was taken prisoner ; and, though his ransom was repeatedly offered, preferred remaining among the slaves, that he might instruct them in their religion, and teach them to sanctify their sufferings ; he persisted in this edifying occupation, till his decease. His work, intitled *The Sufferings of Christ*, originally written in the Spanish language, has been translated both by catholic and protestant pens, .

VI.

Their Missions in China.

IN China their religious labours were equally successful. In 1552, St. Francis Xavier reached Macao. In 1715, the number of the christians in China amounted to three hundred thousand, and they possessed three hundred churches. In their propagation of the gospel in China, the Jesuits showed great good sense. They did every thing to conciliate public and individual favour; they carefully abstained from every thing that had a tendency to draw on them public, or individual dislike; and, so far as it could be done without trenching on the substance of religion, they accommodated their instructions to the opinions and feelings of the country. In some instances, they were supposed to carry this spirit of accommodation too far, and by a papal bull, they were obliged to retrace some steps of their conciliating advances. Their readiness to comply with the bull did them honour.

Between the years 1581, and 1681,—126 European Jesuits were employed in the missions in China. "It must," says Sir George Staunton, (*Embassy to China*, Vol. 2. p. 159), "appear a singular spectacle to every class of beholders, to see men, actuated by motives, different from those of most human actions, quitting for ever their country and their connections, to devote themselves for life, for the purpose of changing the tenets of a people, they had never seen; and, in pursuing that object, to run every risk, suffer every persecution, and sacrifice every comfort; insinuating themselves,—by address, by talent, by perseverance, by

humility, by application to studies, foreign from their original education, or by the cultivation of arts, to which they had not been bred,—into notice and protection;—overcoming the prejudice of being strangers, in a country, where most strangers were prohibited, and where it was a crime to have abandoned the tombs of their ancestors; and gaining, at length, establishments necessary for the propagation of the faith, without turning their influence to any personal advantage. Every European," Sir George adds from his own experience, "was greeted by them, as countrymen, entitled to regard and service."

All the information, which the missionaries could acquire of the learning, the arts, and the sciences of China, they transmitted to Europe. It is principally to be found in their *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, of which Fontenelle said, that "he had never read a work which answered better to its title." To the general accuracy of these letters, and of the works of Father du Halde and Father Gaubil, the interesting account published by Sir George Staunton of his Embassy to China, bears testimony; and the writer of these pages, has often heard him mention them, in terms of the highest praise. In his *Histoire du Christianisme de l'Ethiopie et de l'Arménie* p. 269, 402, La Croze mentions with praise the account given of Armenia, in the third volume of the *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions du Levant*; and, as Mr. Gibbon justly observes (*Ch. 47, note 148*), the work of a Jesuit must have sterling merit when it is praised by La Croze.—Such was the conduct of the Jesuits in China.—May it not be confidently asked, whether history records an instance, in which science has been made more subservient to the faith of Christ?

VII.

Their Anti-christian and Anti-catholic adversaries.

SUCH have been the services rendered by the Jesuits to religion, to letters, to civilized and uncivilized society. With such titles to gratitude, is it not surprising, that they should have had so many enemies? But,—such has been the general fate of benefactors to humanity!—how few of these have closed their labours, without

“ A sigh, to find
“ Th’ unwilling gratitude of low mankind!”

POPE.

Among the enemies of the Jesuits, several are found, whose hostility must be thought, by all *christians*, to reflect honour on the society. When we open the correspondence of Voltaire and his intimates, and observe their furious and determined hatred of christianity, and their schemes and efforts for its destruction, and find at the same time, their avowed enmity to the Jesuits, as their most formidable opponents, surely all, who invoke the name of Christ, must think with respect and gratitude, of the Jesuits, as the ablest defenders, in the opinion of its bitterest enemies, of their common christianity? By the same principle, when a *catholic* finds the polemic hatred which the early disciples of Luther and Calvin discovered, in all their writings, against the Jesuits, it should elevate them in his opinion, as the hatred evidently proceeded, from its being felt by the Lutherans and Calvinists, that the Jesuits were at this time, the most powerful champions of the catholic faith.

Great, however, is the force of truth!—When anti-christian and anti-catholic feelings have not guided their judgments, the atheist, the deist, and the protestant, has equally done justice to the Jesuits. Ardent for their expulsion from every other kingdom, Frederick of Prussia, prudently preserved them in his own, and heartily laughed at the vagaries of the philosophers, who solicited their banishment. “I cannot,” says Lord Bacon, “contemplate the application and the talent of these preceptors, in cultivating the intellects, and forming the manners of youth, without bringing to my mind, the expression of Agesilaus to Pharnabazus:—Being such as you are, is it possible that you should not belong to us?”—“I am persuaded,” said Leibniz, the most universal scholar, and one of the most profound mathematicians and metaphysicians of his age, “that the Jesuits are often calumniated, and that opinions, which have never come into their minds, have often been imputed to them.” The Count de Merode, having informed Leibniz that he had purchased the *Acta Sanctorum of the Flemish Jesuits*, now filling eighty volumes folio, and still unfinished, Leibniz pronounced a panegyric on the work, and declared that, “if the Jesuits had published no other, that work alone entitled them to existence, and to be sought for and esteemed by the whole world.”—We have already cited one passage from la Lande, the celebrated, but infidel astronomer. In another, after mentioning several ridiculous charges which had been made against himself, he speaks of the Jesuits, as follows: “Among other crimes imputed to me, it is asserted, that, in my travels, I served the mass of a Jesuit. All this is too idle to answer; but I must freely own to you, that the name of Jesuit interests my heart, my mind, and my gratitude;

and revives my regret for the blindness of the persons in power, in 1762.—No! the human species has lost for ever, and it never will regain, that precious and wonderful reunion of 20,000 men, unceasingly and disinterestedly occupied in instructing, preaching, missions, reconciliations, attending the dying, and other exertions of the tenderest and dearest functions of humanity. Retirement, frugality, renunciation of pleasure, made this society a surprising assemblage of science and virtue. I have been a near observer of them; they were a people of heroes, in the cause of religion and humanity; religion furnished them with means which philosophy does not supply. In my fourteenth year, I admired them: I asked to be admitted among them: I regret that I did not persist in my vocation: innocence, and the love of study, inspired me with it."

VIII.

Their Catholic Adversaries.

SUCH were the anti-christian and anti-catholic adversaries of the Jesuits: some adversaries, however, and these as terrible as any, they had within the catholic pale. But this leads to a variety of subjects. All the accusations which these urged against them, may be found in the *Histoire générale des Jésuites* of la Coudrette,—the *Provincial Letters*,—the *Rapports of Montclar*, and the *Châlotais*,—the *Morale pratique des Jésuites*, and the *Extraits des Assertions dangereuses et pernicieuses en tout genre, que les soi-disant Jésuites ont, dans tous les tems et persévérément soutenues, enseignées, et publiées dans leurs livres, avec approbation des Supérieurs et Généraux*. On

each of these works, we shall trouble our readers with a single observation. Those, who wish to see fuller answers to the charges brought against the Jesuits, should peruse the *Apologie de l'Institut des Jesuites*, 2 Vol. 8vo.

1. With respect to *la Coudrette*;—that he was a party man cannot be denied. Like those of all party writers, his works should, therefore, be read with some distrust; and nothing resting on his single assertion, should be admitted, without some hesitation.

2. With respect to the *Provincial Letters*;—few have read or meditated them, with more attention than the writer of these lines; but he has also read and meditated the answers to them of Father Daniel, in his *Dialogues de Cleandre et d'Eudore*; and, previously to his perusing either, he placed himself in that perfect state of doubt and impartiality, which Descartes requires from a disciple, who enters on his meditations. The result was, that Father Daniel appeared to him so often victorious in the combat, as to leave little that could be justly charged on the individual members, and nothing that could be charged on the body of the society. If any of his readers have proceeded in the same manner, and arrived at a different conclusion, far be it from the writer of these lines to question his sincerity: but he claims an equal allowance of sincerity for himself, and for all,—(they are both respectable and numerous),—who agree with him in opinion, that the author of the *Provincial Letters* is as often inaccurate or unfair, as he is witty or eloquent.

“The whole of these letters,” says M. de Voltaire, “is built upon a false foundation, as the extravagant notions of a few Spanish and Flemish Jesuits, are artfully ascribed in them to the whole body.” This, to

every one, who peruses Father Daniel's answer to them, must appear evident. A better answer to them, however, is supplied by the sermons of Father Bourdaloue. To the whole of *his* doctrine every Jesuit subscribes; from the whole of the doctrine, imputed to them by Pascal, every Jesuit dissents:—which should be thought the doctrine of the order?

3. With respect to the *Morale Pratique*, the *Rapports*, and the *Extraits de Assertions*:—May the writer be permitted to observe, that no one should form any conclusion from these, if he has not read the *Reponse aux Assertions*, published in 1763, in three large quarto volumes. In this work, the Jesuits charge the author of the *Assertions* with 758 falsifications and alterations of the texts, cited by him. They produce from the text, every passage pronounced by them to be falsified or altered, and confront it with the corresponding passage in the work of their adversary. Now, both in courts of law and out of them, it is a received axiom, that a person, who denies a charge, is to be reputed innocent of it, until it is proved on him by proper evidence. Surely, therefore, none, who have not examined a large proportion, at least, of these passages, and found them misrepresented by the Jesuits, should pronounce them guilty of the doctrines imputed to them by the author of the *Assertions*. It cannot be expected of many, that they should read the three ponderous volumes, to which the writer has referred; if, however, any person should be disposed to give a serious consideration to the subject, he should, at least, read the pages, not very numerous, that compose the *Examen du procès verbal*, which concludes the work. Greatly surprised indeed will the writer of these lines be, if a single person, who reads them, should not concur with him in thinking that the

persons, who drew up the *Procès verbal*, possessed no ordinary share of intrepidity.

4. One further charge against the Jesuits, requires notice.—It is objected to them, that the president de Thou discovers, in many parts of his history, a spirit of hostility toward them: but this does not prejudice them in the opinion of any person acquainted with the history of France during that period. While the president was employed on his immortal work, France was just delivered from the horrors of the league, and a numerous and powerful party fomented within the kingdom, by Philip II., still abetted its views. In the prosecution of them, the leaguers had availed themselves, and their remaining partisans still continued to avail themselves, of the ultramontane doctrines on the pope's deposing power. To these, the regular clergy, were supposed to be particularly favourable; now, among the regulars, the talents, activity and popularity of the Jesuits, had elevated them, both in merit and in public opinion, to a considerable eminence. This exposed them to the president's severities, from which the obscurer destinies of others protected them. But it has been proved to demonstration, that their conduct was more moderate than that of any other religious body engaged in the league;—and it is evident that they were soon taken into favour by Henry IV., and that he warmly protected them: but it is not so generally known, that *the chancellor l' Hôpital*,* whose mind was as loyal, whose principles were as friendly to civil and religious liberty as those of de Thou, and whose talents for business were greatly superior, was favourable to the Jesuits, and a decided encourager of their schools.

* See the *Life of the Chancellor l' Hôpital*, by the writer of these pages.

IX.

Objections to the Jesuits from the extraordinary Privileges supposed to be conferred on them by Papal Bulls and Briefs.

A SHORT but complete answer may be given to any argument that can be drawn against the Jesuits from these. All their writers, particularly the author of the *Apologie de l'Institut des Jesuites*, their standard work of defence, (Tom. II. c. 27.), declare most explicitly and without any qualification, that, with all the attachment, which the Jesuits profess for their institute, they resign without reserve, all claims to the exemptions granted to them by bulls or briefs, when these are repugnant to the laws of any country in which they are settled.

Thus, in 1611, 1626, and 1713, the Jesuits of France recognised in solemn instruments, the absolute civil independence of the sovereign on the pope; signed these instruments with all legal formalities, and caused them to be entered on the records of the parliament at Paris.

In 1682, the Gallican clergy universally signed four articles respecting civil and temporal power. The first proclaims, in the most explicit terms, the civil independence of the sovereign on the pope. Now these articles were taught in all the schools of the French Jesuits; and in 1707 and 1761, they finally expressed their adherence to them.

Finally,—“ In the year 1761,” say the authors of the *Reponse aux Assertions*, vol. 3. p. 597, “ at which time the Jesuits were most bitterly attacked for their institute and doctrine,—a model of a declaration was

sent to the five provincials of the Jesuits in France, by the chancellor Lamoignon; and a copy of it was desired to be returned to him, signed by the priests and young Jesuits of all the colleges and houses in the kingdom. All their signatures were accordingly given and transmitted to the chancellor."—The Declaration is thus expressed :

" First, that they hold and profess, and will ever
 " hold and profess, that, in no circumstance, in no place,
 " under no pretence of tyranny, or vexation from per-
 " secution, on no account of religion, under no other
 " possible pretence, is it lawful, or can it be made
 " lawful, for any person, whatever be his state or con-
 " dition, to make any attempt, directly or indirectly, on
 " the persons of sovereigns; or to speak, write, insi-
 " nuate, favour, or do any other act, which can tend to
 " endanger their safety:—that they condemn and de-
 " test, as pernicious and deserving the execration of
 " all ages, any doctrine to the contrary, which may be
 " found in any works, that may have been composed,
 " either by any member of their society, or by any other
 " person, whosoever he may be.

" Secondly,—*That they hold and profess, and will ever*
 " *hold and profess, the doctrine of the clergy of France,*
 " *declared in their assembly of 1682:—*Consequently,
 " they teach, and always will teach, that the power, given
 " by Jesus Christ to St. Peter, to his successors, and to
 " the Church itself, is purely spiritual, and extends to
 " that only, which belongs to eternal salvation; that
 " they have no power over any thing that concerns
 " temporals; and that thus the power of sovereigns in
 " temporals is so totally independent of every spiritual
 " power, that in no case, for no cause, and on no pre-
 " tence whatever, can they either directly or indirectly,

“ be deposed by the power of the Keys, or their subjects
 “ absolved, from their oath of allegiance.

“ Thirdly,—That they are, and always will be, sub-
 “ ject to the laws, ordonnances, regulations, and usages
 “ of the kingdom, in the same manner as all other
 “ subjects of the king, either spiritual or lay: as also,
 “ to the rules of the discipline and the common law
 “ of the church, in the same manner as these are
 “ binding on the other religious persons in the king-
 “ dom; and that they cannot attempt any thing con-
 “ trary to the rights of the bishops, curates, universities,
 “ or others:—or *make any use of any privilege, what-*
 “ *ever it may be, except so far as it is conformable to*
 “ *the import of the laws and maxims of the kingdom.*

“ Fourthly,—That, if it should happen,—(which may
 “ God forbid!),—that they should be ordered by their
 “ general, or by any other person, invested with any
 “ authority, whatever it may be, to do, (contrary to the
 “ declarations above expressed), any thing against the
 “ laws of the church or the state, to their duty to their
 “ sovereigns, or to the public welfare or tranquillity,
 “ they declare, that they hold, and ever will hold, such
 “ decrees or instruments, to be null,—on every ground
 “ of right, (*de plein droit*); and that they would be,
 “ and would consider themselves obliged to disobey
 “ them.†”

† The *Monita Secreta*, or *Private Instructions*,—a publication sometimes brought forward against the Jesuits,—is a most infamous work, and wholly beneath notice.—It supposes, that the society has a deliberate plan of subjugating the universe to its sway, with a settled determination that, where any villany would avail towards the accomplishment of this object, its members should adopt any villany: that this horrid project was reduced to system; that this system is expressed in the *Monita Secreta*; and that these were put into the hands of the elect, to be used by them, whenever occasion should make it expedient.

X.

The Dissolution of the Society.

IT does honour to christianity, that the first persecution of her was set on foot by Néro : it does similar honour to the Jesuits that the first persecution of them was set on foot by the Marquis de Pombal, the most sanguinary and remorseless minister of state, that appeared in the last century. The charge, which he brought against the Jesuits, was, that they were parties to a plot, for the assassination of the Portuguese monarch. Now, that such a plot existed, is very doubtful:—that the Jesuits were concerned in it, has not been shown by the slightest evidence. For their supposed participation in it, they were banished from Portugal in 1759.

In 1763, Lewis the fifteenth suppressed them within his dominions. They were banished by the king of Spain, in 1767; by the king of Naples, the duke of Parma, and the grand master of Malta, in 1768; and, were wholly suppressed by Pope Clement the fourteenth, in 1773.

Is this possible? Has it entered into the mind of man to conceive such an infernal plan?—When the queen of France was charged with corrupting the morals of her son, she nobly appealed for the impossibility of the charge, to the feelings of every mother;—and the feelings of every mother absolved her.—For the impossibility of the genuineness of the *Monita Secreta*, the Jesuits may appeal, with equal confidence, to the feelings of every gentleman in the universe.—There does not live the Jesuit, or the scholar of a Jesuit, who, if any one of the doctrines, which it inculcates, or any one practice, which it recommends, were proposed to him, would not spurn it with indignation.

Neither the original, nor any certified copy, of this vile book was ever produced; no circumstance respecting its discovery, ever proved; no collateral fact to establish its authenticity, ever published.

"In general," says the author of the *Vie privée de Louis XV.* tom. iv. p. 61,—and he certainly cannot be accused of partiality to the order,—“the more numerous and respectable portion of the nation regretted the Jesuits. If this great cause had been heard, with the solemnity and gravity due to its importance, the Jesuits might have thus addressed the magistrates;—“You! all you, whose hearts and understandings we have formed, answer, before you condemn us, these questions! We appeal to the judgment, which you formed of us, in that age, when candour and innocence reigned in your hearts. Now, therefore, come forward! And declare!—Did we in our schools, in our discourses, or in the tribunal of penance, ever inculcate to you, any of those abominable maxims, with which we are now reproached? Did you ever hear them fall from our lips? Did you ever read them in the books, which we put into your hands? Did you ever observe, in our public or private conduct, any thing approaching to them? Is it upon a few passages, torn and twisted from books, long buried in the dust of libraries, that we should be judged? Should it not rather be on the doctrine, which, when you filled our colleges, you heard from us, in our schools, our pulpits, and our confessionals? Is there among you, one, who has heard from us, even a single maxim, with which we are now charged? Why,”—the Jesuits might have continued, “did you send *your* sons to our schools, if you had been taught, or did seriously suspect us of teaching in them bad morality?”

“Alas!” continues the same writer, “the magistrates said all this to one another:—in private, they held no other language; but they were no sooner seated on the bench of justice, than they were overpowered by their fanatical and louder brethren.”

At the time of its dissolution, father Ricci, of an illustrious house in Florence, was the superior-general of the society. He, and several other of its most distinguished members, were, on a sudden, imprisoned, by the order of pope Clement the fourteenth, and, after some change of prison, conveyed to the castle of St. Angelo, and closely confined. They underwent separate interrogatories. Two questions only in these interrogatories, seem to deserve notice.—The general was asked, “If there were abuses in the order?” He replied, that, “Through the mercy of God, there were no abuses, that could, in any wise, be called general;—on the contrary, there was great regularity, piety, zeal, and particularly, great union and charity; this was demonstrated by the circumstance, that during fifteen years of extreme tribulation, there was no internal trouble or tumult; and that all remained attached to their state, though excessively persecuted. This did not prevent particular abuses from rising, through human frailty,—to which proper remedies were applied.”

The other question, which we shall notice, respected the wealth of the society.—Its enemies had foretold, that its dissolution would lead to the discovery of immense treasures. In no country, from which they were expelled, was this wealth, or the slightest vestige of it, discovered. This, the enemies of the society accounted for, by supposing, that, foreseeing the storm which was to burst upon them, the persons entrusted with the management of its funds, had transmitted them to Rome. “Their avidity for the good things of this world,” says the author of the celebrated treatise, (*Du Pape et des Jesuites*, 2 edit. p. 77), “is one of the greatest reproaches made to the society, in the brief of Clement the fourteenth; and yet, at the moment of their dissolution, they

were encumbered by a heavy debt. This is an enigma, which can only be explained by a fact sufficiently known, that they were obliged to send, every year, to Rome, the fruit of their economy and savings; that these sums were put under the disposition of the general; who, by their constitutions, was the sole proprietary in the order. By these means, a portion, not inconsiderable, of the revenues of the state flowed, furtively, through secret canals, to swell a foreign treasure, and often served suspicious purposes."

The supposed treasures were, however quite as invisible at Rome, as in any other place.—At the Interrogatory which has been mentioned, the general was strictly questioned, respecting the amount of the wealth of the society, and his sending it from Rome to prevent its seizure;—"Neither I myself," answered the general, "nor any person, within my knowledge, has sent a single penny of our property out of Rome, or placed it in any Bank. The persuasion of our treasures, either hidden or invested, is extremely false,—a popular rumour without a foundation; probably invented by our enemies, or arising from the splendour of our churches. The belief of it is a mere dream,—a delirium—a real mania. I am surprised to find, even honourable persons, give credit to this fable; they should be convinced of its falsehood by the multiplied and strange searches, so fruitlessly made, both in Rome and other countries, to discover this imaginary wealth. The amount of the money, subject to my free disposition, was very inconsiderable."

On the 19th of November, 1775, feeling himself near his end, the general desired to receive the sacrament of the holy eucharist. The chaplain of the castle brought it to him; and, just before he received the

salutary host, the general, in the presence of the vice governor of the castle, of Don John, his secretary, of the Brother Orlandi, an ex-jesuit, the Serjeant Vennini, the Corporal Piannarra, nine soldiers, and some other persons, who assisted at the ceremony,—solemnly pronounced, from a written paper, which he held in his hands, a Declaration, of which the following is an extract :

“ Considering myself on the point of being presented before the tribunal of infallible truth and justice, which is no other than the divine tribunal,—after long and mature consideration,—after having humbly prayed my most merciful Redeemer, and terrible judge, not to permit that I should allow myself to be led away by any passion, particularly in one of the last actions of my life,—without any bitterness of heart, or any vicious motive or end, and only because I hold myself to be obliged to do justice to truth and innocence,—I make the two following declarations and protestations :

“ First,—I declare and protest, that the suppressed Society of Jesus has given no ground for its suppression. I declare this, with all the certitude, that a superior, well informed of his order, can morally have.

“ Secondly ; I declare and protest, that I have not given any ground, not even the slightest, for my imprisonment. I declare and protest this, with that recititude and evidence, which every one hath of his own actions. I make this second protestation, only because it is necessary to the reputation of the Society of Jesus, of which I was superior-general.”

That the society fell with dignity, is admitted even by their enemies. “ Let not,”—(wrote Father Neuville in a letter to one of his brethren),—“ a word, a look, a single sigh of complaint or murmur escape you. A

respect, which should not fail you during an instant, for the holy see, and for the pontiff who fills it; perfect respect for the rigorous, but always adorable decrees of providence, and for the powers, whom she employs in the execution of her designs,—the depth of which it is not for us to fathom;—these are our duties. Let our sorrows, our groans, our tears, never escape us, except in the presence of God, and in his sanctuary; let our grief be expressed before men, no otherwise, than by the silence of modesty, peace, and obedience! Let us forget, neither the instructions, nor the examples, for which we are indebted to our society! Let us show, by our conduct, that she deserved a better fate! and let the words and actions of the sons vindicate the mother! This will be her most powerful and able defence: it is the only defence, which is permitted to us. We wished to serve religion, by our zeal and talents; let us endeavour to serve her by our fall and sufferings! You cannot doubt the painful feelings of my heart, in beholding the humiliating destruction of the society, to whom I owe, whatever I possess, of virtue, talent, or reputation. I may truly say, that every moment, I drink the cup of bitterness:—But when we look on Jesus crucified, is it lawful for us to complain?"

The Epitaph of the Order might have been written in the following lines:—

In humble hope of the Divine favour,

The Society of Jesus now reposes:

Education languishes;

Irreligion and Insubordination increase:

A Revolution,

The horrors of which, it enters not into the heart of Man to conceive,

Advances rapidly:

O God! Abridge the sufferings of the Just!

XI.

The Restoration of the Society.

I HAVE NOW to write, what most, I trust, of my readers will feel a pleasing line. In August 1814, the Pope re-established the Society of Jesus, by his bull, *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*. By this, he derogated from the brief of Clement the fourteenth. He mentions the numerous requests, for the re-establishment of the Jesuits, which he had received from persons of every class; praises their zeal and conduct in the countries, in which they had been re-established; and authorises Thaddeus Borzozowski, their superior-general, to reunite them in community, to employ themselves on education, in colleges, and seminaries, and in the functions of the ministry, conformably to the rule of St. Ignatius.

On the 6th of August, he communicated this bull to a consistory of cardinals: on the 7th, he repaired, in great state, to the church of Jesus, in the ancient convent of the Jesuits; and, after celebrating the sacrifice of the mass, on the altar dedicated to St. Ignatius, and assisting at another mass, he went into a large chamber. There, seated on a throne, and surrounded by the sacred college, and many prelates, he ordered the bull to be read by the master of the ceremonies, and then delivered it with his own hands into those of father Pannizoni, a provincial of the order.

Let us now suppose, that, we hear Bossuet addressing to the Jesuits, assembled on this occasion, the very words which he addressed to their fathers, in a sermon preached by him, in 1607, in their church at Paris: (*Œuvres de Bossuet, Ed. Ben. Vol. iv. p. 459.*)—"You!

—O celebrated society,—you, who do with so good a title, bear the name of Jesus,—whom the grace of God has inspired with the important design, of leading children to him, from their infancy, to the maturity of man in Jesus Christ,—to whom God, in these last ages, has given doctors, apostles, and evangelists, in order to make known, throughout the universe, and even to the extremity of the earth, the glory of the gospel,—cease not in its service, (conformably to your holy institute), to exert all the talents of your minds, all your eloquence, all your politeness, and all your learning:—And the better to accomplish so great a work, receive with all this assembly, in testimony of eternal charity, the holy benediction of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost!”

It is, however, to be observed that the bull which we have mentioned, does not restore the order, or give it a canonical existence, even in the eye of the roman-catholic church, in any country, the sovereign of which shall not have previously recalled or consented to receive them.—Rome herself has thus explained the bull.

The writer hopes these historical minutes of this very interesting society will displease no enlightened or candid reader. No one can be more independent of its members, less connected with them, or have fewer calls on him to advocate their cause.—But,

Pleased to spread friendships, and to cover heats,

POPE.

he cannot refuse himself the satisfaction of offering, in this place, a few words in their eulogy. He concludes it, by the following extract from *Les Adieux*, a poem

written by the celebrated *Gresset*, when he quitted the order.

Je dois tous mes regrets aux sages que je quitte,
J'en perds avec douleur l'entretien vertueux;
Et, si dans leur foyers desormais je n'habite,
Mon cœur me survit auprès d'eux.

Car ne leurs crois point tels, que la main de l'envie
Les peint à des yeux prévenus :
Si tu ne les connois que sur ce qu'en publie
La ténébreuse Calomnie,
Ils te sont encore inconnus :

Lis,—et vois de leurs mœurs des traits plus ingenus :
Qu'il est doux de leur rendre un témoignage
Dont l'interêt, la crainte, et l'espoir sont exclus !
A leur sort le mien ne tient plus :—
L'impartialité va tracer leur image.

Oui,—j'ai vu des mortels,—(j'en dois ici l'avou),—
Trop combattus, connus trop peu ;
J'ai vu des esprits vrais, des mœurs incorruptibles ;
Voués à la Patrie, à leur Roi, à leur Dieu ;
A leurs propres maux insensibles ;
Prodiges de leurs jours, tendres, parfaits amis ;
Et souvent bienfaiteurs paisibles
De leurs plus fougoux ennemis ;
Trop estimés enfin pour être moins haïs.

Que d'autres s'exhalant, dans leur haine insensée,
En reproches injurieux,
Cherchent, en les quittant, à les rendre odieux :—
Pour moi,—fidèle au vrai, fidèle à ma pensée,
C'est ainsi qu'en partant, je leur fais—*MES ADIEUX.*

THE END.

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